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MACAULAY'S FREDERIC THE GREAT



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TORONTO

# Frederic the Great

By  
Lord Macaulay

*WITH NOTES BY*

A. T. Flux

Headmaster of the Belvedere Pupil Teachers' Centre; Author of  
"Scholarship School Management," and Correspondence  
Courses in the "Practical Teacher"

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## LIFE OF MACAULAY.

THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY was the son of Zachary Macaulay, who had married in 1799 a Bristol Quakeress, Selina Mills. Zachary Macaulay had, before his marriage, worked with Wilberforce for the suppression of slavery, and had been governor of Sierra Leone. Mr. and Mrs. Macaulay took a small house in Lambeth, but before the first child was born, Mr. Macaulay's sister Jean invited her sister-in-law to Rothley Temple, and here, on the 25th of October, 1800, a son was born, who was given the name of his uncle, "Thomas Babington."

At a very early age the child shewed signs of great ability. He was fond of reading, and had such a tenacious memory that he could at the age of eight repeat Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. He started writing a *Compendium of Universal History* at the age of seven, but relinquished it, after writing a few hundred lines, to start a heroic poem. From Clapham, he went at the age of twelve to a school at Little Shelford, near Cambridge, under an evangelical clergyman.

In October, 1818, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he gained the Chancellor's Medal twice for poems entitled *Pompeii* and *Evening*, and in 1821 gained a Craven University Scholarship. During his residence he became well known as one of the best

speakers in the University Debating Society, and had commenced his career as an author by contributing to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* various articles and poems, the best known of the latter being the *Songs of the Huguenots* and the *Songs of the Cavaliers*.

Early in 1825, Frances Jeffrey, who was then conducting the *Edinburgh Review*, wrote to a friend in London to find for him a "clever young man" who could put some new life into the *Review*. Macaulay (who had entered Cambridge a Tory and left it a zealous Whig) was approached, with the result that in August, 1825, his first article, *Milton*, appeared, and was immediately recognized as being of more than ordinary merit. Macaulay, when he had had greater experience, condemned it as "containing scarcely a paragraph such as his matured judgment approved," as it was "overloaded with gaudy and ungraceful ornament," but it possessed sufficient worth to obtain for him continual employment for the *Review*, and during the next ten or twelve years appeared that series of brilliant essays and reviews on various persons and subjects which now take rank as English classics.

In the meantime, Macaulay was following the legal profession, was called to the Bar in 1826, and joined the Northern Circuit, but his writing in the *Edinburgh Review* attracted the attention of Lord Lyndhurst, who made him in 1828 a Commissioner of Bankruptcy, and thus, at the age of twenty-eight, Macaulay was making from his pen, profession, and Fellowship, an income of £900 a year.

Entering Parliament as member for Calne, he supported the Reform Bill, and voted for reforms in the



Bankruptcy Court, although by them his office was abolished. His speeches were carefully prepared and committed to memory, but, although they were delivered with animation and freedom, the rapidity and uniform tone prevented the full appreciation of their value.

In January, 1833, he entered the new Parliament as M.P. for Leeds, and later in the year was appointed legal adviser to the Supreme Council of India at a salary of £10,000 a year. He went to India the following year, and there did good work as President of the Committee for Public Instruction, and afterwards as President of a Law Commission appointed to draw up a new code of laws. In the midst of an arduous and busy life he found time to continue his writing, and during one year he read through most of the Latin and Greek classics once or twice. His knowledge of Indian law, life, and manners, appears to the full in his essays on Clive and Warren Hastings.

In 1838 he returned to England, and was elected to represent Edinburgh, which he continued to do till 1847, when he displeased his constituents and lost his seat by supporting a proposed grant to Maynooth. The poem which he wrote on hearing of his defeat commencing, "The day of tumult, strife, defeat was o'er," contains some noble thoughts. While he was still a member, he had been Secretary for War under Lord Melbourne, and was later (1846) Paymaster General of the Forces.

In 1842 his *Lays of Ancient Rome* were published, and in the following year the *Essays* collected in one volume were republished.

Macaulay was now engaged upon his *History of*

*England from the Accession of James II. to the Present Time.* The first two volumes appeared in 1848, and the success was immediate and enormous. In 1852 the electors of Edinburgh made him the *amende honorable* for their previous rejection by electing him as their representative without any expense, exertion, or movement on his part. In 1855 the next two volumes of the history appeared, and met with such a ready sale that in 1856 he realized £20,000 profit from it.

While working at his history he had written five biographies for the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* to oblige his friend, Mr. Black. They are carefully finished productions, and worthy of his pen.

In 1857 he was created a peer with the title Baron Macaulay of Rothley, a distinction never before won by a literary career, but his health was failing, and on December 28, 1859, he died in Kensington. There were few, if any, educated persons who, amid their Christmas festivities, did not feel they had lost much on hearing of his death, and the nation buried him in Westminster Abbey amongst the ashes of the illustrious dead who had preceded him, and among whom he was by no means least.

A fifth volume of the history was published in its unfinished state after his death.

#### NOTE ON MACAULAY'S WORKS AND STYLE.

Macaulay's style is peculiarly his own. With his ready and tenacious memory he possessed a great advantage over other writers. He rarely forgot anything he read, he could repeat the whole of Homer's epics, and could have reproduced Milton's works

verbatim had they been lost. Hence his writings are distinguished by copious expression and the power of putting the same fact many ways. He was fond of epigram and antithesis, inserted countless details in his descriptions, and could always find in his enormous store of knowledge an apt illustration or quotation, or a pointed reference.

Yet, he was a most careful writer, and wrote and rewrote passages till he was sure they could not be improved. His sentences run smoothly and easily, and he possessed in no small degree the power of making his meaning clear to any reader. His prose is pictorial prose.

**The Essays, Critical and Historical**, form a brilliant addition to English literature, and a remarkable testimony to their interest is seen in the fact that while the works which gave rise to them are, in some cases, entirely forgotten, Macaulay's criticism on them, or on the subject with which they dealt, obtains a continually increasing circle of readers. Probably, for every single reader of Gleig's *Memoirs of the Life of Warren Hastings*, there are hundreds of thousands who know Macaulay's essay on Warren Hastings, and so with others. In some cases the essays contain little or no criticism, the publication of some book suggested a topic, which Macaulay proceeded to clothe with wonderful imagery and description, and thus rendered it attractive to the ordinary reader. In other cases, *e.g.*, on "Mr. Robert Montgomery's Poems," the criticism is singularly clear and incisive, severe, perhaps, yet never malicious, and carrying the conviction to every reader's mind that it is just.

**The Poems.** The *Lays of Ancient Rome*, *Songs of the*

*Cavaliers, Songs of the Huguenots, The Armada*, are too well known to require much notice. They all possess the same attraction, the same wealth of imagery, the same clearness of description, the same fire and energy, that render poems household words.

*The Lays of Ancient Rome* are pure ballads, all story with no moralizing, written in a simple metre, and in simple language. As Sidney felt himself stirred by the recital of *Cherry Chase*, so every schoolboy has thrilled with interest in the *Defence of the Bridge* or the *Battle of Lake Regillus*.

**The History.** In this work, as in all others, the author fascinates his readers by the life-like representation of individuals and places; nor is this to be wondered at, when Macaulay read pamphlets by the thousands, hundreds of books, Acts of Parliament, tracts, broad-sheets, and ballads, in preparing his material. He visited most of the places depicted, and sometimes lived on the spot while writing the description of some event. As a history for the general reading public it was an enormous success, but, as an accurate account, it is not always to be trusted. "Read," said Carlyle, the "last volume of Macaulay's History or any other novel."

The work was not completed. It opens with a masterly survey of earlier English history, and then deals in detail with the reigns of James II. and William III., and that with gaps in the last volume which consists of fragments found after the author's death, and which were published with no attempt to connect them by means of what must have been inferior workmanship.

# SUMMARY OF MACAULAY'S LIFE AND WORKS. xiii

A.D.		
1800	Born, Oct. 25.	
1812	School at Little Shelford, near Cambridge.	
1818	Entered Trinity Coll., Cam.	Poem— <i>Pompeii</i> (Chancellor's Medal).
1821	Gained the Craven University Scholarship.	Poem— <i>Evening</i> (Chancellor's Medal).
1822	Gained a prize of ten pound for his Essay on <i>Character and Conduct of William III.</i>	
	Took his B.A. Degree.	
1823		Contributions to <i>Knight's Quarterly</i> (Ivry, <i>Songs of the Cavaliers</i> , <i>Essay on Athenian Orators</i> ).
1824	Fellow of Trinity (£300 per annum).	Essay on <i>Milton</i> in <i>Edinburgh Review</i> .
1825	Took his M.A. Degree.	
1826	Called to the Bar—joined Northern Circuit.	
1828	Commissioner of Bankruptcy (£400 per annum).	
1830	Returned as Member for Calne.	
1833	M.P. for Leeds.	
1834	Sailed for India—seat on Supreme Council.	
1835	President of the Committee of Public Instruction. President of a Law Commission.	
1838	Back from India. M.P. for Edinburgh. Secretary for War under Ld. Melbourne.	
1842		
1843		
1846	Paymaster-General of the Forces (under Earl Russell).	
1847	Lost Seat for Edinburgh.	
1848		
1849	Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow.	
1852	Re-elected for Edinburgh.	
1855		
		<i>Lays of Ancient Rome.</i> <i>Essays</i> republished.
		Poem on his defeat.
		<i>History of England</i> , vols. 1 and 2.
		<i>History of England</i> , vols. 3 and 4.
		5 Biographies to <i>Encyclopaedia Britt.</i> — <i>Atterbury</i> , <i>Bunyan</i> , <i>Goldsmith</i> , <i>Johnson</i> , <i>Pitt</i> .
1857	Created Baron Macaulay of Rothley.	
1859	Died, Dec. 28. Buried in Westminster Abbey.	Volume V. of <i>History</i> left uncompleted.

## NOTE ON THE MAP OF EUROPE.

To understand many of the references in the text of this Essay, it will be necessary for the student to obtain an intelligent idea of the state of Europe at this period, more particularly with reference to the various countries, which then differed considerably in extent from their area at the present time.

**The Germanic Empire** had been founded by the great Teutonic family of German-speaking peoples, who just before the Christian era commenced to press upon the northern boundaries of the Roman Empire. It was in 113 B.C. that the first conflict took place between the powerful and disciplined Roman legions and the uncivilized Goths. Under Arminius in A.D. 9 the Goths inflicted severe defeat upon the Romans under Varus, and under Alaric they poured down into Italy, sacked Rome in 410 A.D., and commenced the breaking to pieces of the Roman Empire.

In 771 Charlemagne became Emperor of the Germanic Empire, which then comprised what is now France, the Low Countries, Germany, and Austria, or the lands inhabited by the "five nations"—Franks, Saxons, Bavarians, Swabians, and Lorrainers. In 800 Charlemagne was crowned by the Pope as Emperor, but on his death no one was found strong enough to hold together such a vast extent of territory. It is unnecessary to follow the varying fortunes of the Empire, or to enumerate the various districts which at various times

composed it. After passing through several dynasties, the crown was in 973 acquired by Rudolph I., of the Hapsburg line, and continued in that family till the death of Charles VI., in 1740, extinguished the male line.

During the later period (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries) the various parts of the Empire were practically independent states, sometimes in arms against the Emperor, who exercised but little rule except over his own family inheritance. France had early made itself a separate kingdom. The internal dissensions of the electorates, kingdoms, duchies, etc., were a continual source of weakness, and prevented Germany from developing as rapidly as France. The cause of dispute was frequently the question of extent of territory, but it was the promulgation of the Lutheran doctrines, and their adoption by most of the northern princes, which gave rise to the bitterest and bloodiest contests. The Thirty Years' War, terminated in 1748, was a series of wars, mainly between the Protestants of the north and the Catholics of the south, waged with all the ferocity of a partially-civilized people actuated by religious bigotry and fanaticism. It was not till 1871 that these states became fully reconciled, and united to form the modern German Empire.

**The Roman Empire** had fallen to pieces. Italy emerged from the social and political earthquake caused by the irruptions of the Goths as a number of small states, which, like those of Germany, were continually in a condition of internal trouble and mutual warfare. The eastern Empire, the capital of which was Constantinople, had succumbed to the attacks of the

Ottoman Turks. Constantinople fell in 1453, and the wave of eastern invaders, notwithstanding numerous attempts to stop them, carried fire and sword through all the Balkan peninsula, totally subduing all the land south of the Danube, and were checked only at the southern boundary of Austria.

**The Great Empire of Spain**, once the most extensive and powerful in Europe, had already begun to show that decadence always produced by a superfluity of wealth, helped in this case by the national indolence and the paralyzing effects of the Inquisition.

The States of Europe in 1730 were as follows :

1. *Germanic Empire* included—

- (a) Prussia, then rising to importance.
- (b) Bavaria, a Duchy till 1642 ; then an Electorate.
- (c) Saxony, an Electorate ruled by the weak Frederic Augustus, who by turning Catholic had become King of Poland.
- (d) Lorraine, a Duchy.
- (e) Hesse, and the Palatinate.
- (f) Hanover, belonging to England.
- (g) Swedish Pomerania.
- (h) Various smaller States.
- (i) Austria, made up of—
  - (i.) Austria proper, with Silesia.
  - (ii.) Bohemia, which had passed to Austria in 1536.
  - (iii.) Styria ; (iv.) Carinthia ; (v.) Tyrol ; (vi.) Salzburg ; (vii.) Carniola.
  - (viii.) Austrian Netherlands, acquired in 1713 (independent as Belgium in 1831).



(ix.) Kingdom of Hungary (*not a part of the Empire*).

(x.) The two Sicilies (*not a part of the Empire*).

2. *Denmark* then included Norway in its rule.

3. *Sweden* included what is now Sweden, Lapland, Finland, Bremen, and part of Pomerania.

4. *Poland*, a kingdom, continued so till

1772. First partition between Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

1793. Second partition between Russia, Prussia, and Austria.

1795 Third and final partition between Russia, Prussia and Austria.

5. *Great Britain* possessed Hanover.

6. *States of Holland*, a Republic.

7. *France*, practically the same in extent as now, with the exception of part of Lorraine.

8. *Spain and Portugal*, as now.

9. *Russian Empire* extended from the Caucasus to the White Sea, from Poland to Asia.

10. *The Turkish Empire* included what is now Turkey, Greece, Bulgaria, Roumelia, Roumania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria.

11. *Switzerland* was an independent Republic.

12. *The Italian Peninsula*, made up of—

(a) *Duchy of Savoy*, which included *Sardinia*.

(b) *Republic of Venice*, then much weaker than formerly (lasted till 1797).

(c) *Naples and Sicily*, "The Two Sicilies," belonging

to Austria. In 1735 Don Carlos, third son of Philip V. of Spain, became King.

(d) *Modena and Genoa*, Duchies under the protection of France.

(e) *Tuscany*.

(f) *The Papal States*, the territories ruled by the Vatican, which stretched across the centre of Italy, and north as far as the Venetian territory.

Italy did not become a united *monarchy* till the middle of the present century.

Such very briefly was the arrangement of the States of Europe in 1730. The Napoleonic wars produced many changes, and left the map of Europe much more like it is at present.

MACAULAY'S FREDERIC THE GREAT



## FREDERIC THE GREAT.

*Frederic the Great and his Times.* Edited, with an Introduction, by  
THOMAS CAMPBELL, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1842.

THIS work, which has the high honour of being introduced to the world by the author of *Lochiel* and *Hohenlinden*, is not wholly unworthy of so distinguished a *chaperon*. It professes, indeed, to be no more than a compilation; but it is an exceedingly amusing compilation, and we shall be glad 5 to have more of it. The narrative comes down at present only to the commencement of the Seven Years' War, and therefore does not comprise the most interesting portion of Frederic's reign.

It may not be unacceptable to our readers that we should 10 take this opportunity of presenting them with a slight sketch of the life of the greatest king that has, in modern times, succeeded by right of birth to a throne. It may, we fear, be impossible to compress so long and eventful a story within the limits we must prescribe to ourselves. Should 15 we be compelled to break off, we may perhaps, when the continuation of this work appears, return to the subject.

The Prussian monarchy, the youngest of the great European states, but in population and revenue the fifth among them, and in art, science, and civilization entitled to 20 the third, if not to the second place, sprang from a humble origin. About the beginning of the fifteenth century, the

marquisate of Brandenburg was bestowed by the Emperor Sigismund on the noble family of Hohenzollern. In the sixteenth century that family embraced the Lutheran doctrines. It obtained from the King of Poland, early in the  
5 seventeenth century, the investiture of the duchy of Prussia. Even after this accession of territory, the chiefs of the house of Hohenzollern hardly ranked with the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria. The soil of Brandenburg was for the most part sterile. Even round Berlin, the capital of the  
10 province, and round Potsdam, the favourite residence of the Margraves, the country was a desert. In some places, the deep sand could with difficulty be forced by assiduous tillage to yield thin crops of rye and oats. In other places, the ancient forests, from which the conquerors of the Roman  
15 empire had descended on the Danube, remained untouched by the hand of man. Where the soil was rich it was generally marshy, and its insalubrity repelled the cultivators whom its fertility attracted. Frederic William, called the Great Elector, was the prince to whose policy his successors  
20 have agreed to ascribe their greatness. He acquired by the peace of Westphalia several valuable possessions, and among them the rich city and district of Magdeburg; and he left to his son Frederic a principality as considerable as any which was not called a kingdom.

25 Frederic aspired to the style of royalty. Ostentatious and profuse, negligent of his true interests and of his high duties, insatiably eager for frivolous distinctions, he added nothing to the real weight of the state which he governed: perhaps he transmitted his inheritance to his children impaired  
30 rather than augmented in value; but he succeeded in gaining the great object of his life, the title of King. In the year 1700 he assumed this new dignity. He had on that occasion to undergo all the mortifications which fall to the lot of ambitious upstarts. Compared with the other crowned  
35 heads of Europe, he made a figure resembling that which a Nabob or a Commissary, who had bought a title, would

make in the company of Peers whose ancestors had been attainted for treason against the Plantagenets. The envy of the class which Frederic quitted, and the civil scorn of the class into which he intruded himself, were marked in very significant ways. The Elector of Saxony at first refused to 5 acknowledge the new Majesty. Lewis the Fourteenth looked down on his brother King with an air not unlike that with which the count in Molière's play regards Monsieur Jourdain, just fresh from the mummerly of being made a gentleman. Austria exacted large sacrifices in return for 10 her recognition, and at last gave it ungraciously.

Frederic was succeeded by his son, Frederic William, a prince who must be allowed to have possessed some talents for administration, but whose character was disfigured by odious vices, and whose eccentricities were such as had never 15 before been seen out of a madhouse. He was exact and diligent in the transacting of business; and he was the first who formed the design of obtaining for Prussia a place among the European powers, altogether out of proportion to her extent and population, by means of a strong military 20 organization. Strict economy enabled him to keep up a peace establishment of sixty thousand troops. These troops were disciplined in such a manner, that, placed beside them, the household regiments of Versailles and St. James's would have appeared an awkward squad. The master of such 25 a force could not but be regarded by all his neighbours as a formidable enemy and a valuable ally.

But the mind of Frederic William was so ill regulated, that all his inclinations became passions, and all his passions partook of the character of moral and intellectual disease. 30 His parsimony degenerated into sordid avarice. His taste for military pomp and order became a mania, like that of a Dutch burgomaster for tulips, or that of a member of the Roxburghe Club for Caxtons. While the envoys of the Court of Berlin were in a state of such squalid poverty as 35 moved the laughter of foreign capitals, while the food

placed before the princes and princesses of the blood-royal of Prussia was too scanty to appease hunger, and so bad that even hunger loathed it, no price was thought too extravagant for tall recruits. The ambition of the King was to form a  
5 brigade of giants, and every country was ransacked by his agents for men above the ordinary stature. These researches were not confined to Europe. No head that towered above the crowd in the bazaars of Aleppo, of Cairo, or of Surat, could escape the crimps of Frederic William. One Irishman,  
10 more than seven feet high, who was picked up in London by the Prussian ambassador, received a bounty of near thirteen hundred pounds sterling, very much more than the ambassador's salary. This extravagance was the more absurd, because a stout youth of five feet eight, who might have  
15 been procured for a few dollars, would in all probability have been a much more valuable soldier. But to Frederic William this huge Irishman was what a brass Otho, or a Vinegar Bible, is to a collector of a different kind.

It is remarkable, that though the main end of Frederic  
20 William's administration was to have a great military force, though his reign forms an important epoch in the history of military discipline, and though his dominant passion was the love of military display, he was yet one of the most pacific of princes. We are afraid that his aversion to war was not the  
25 effect of humanity, but was merely one of his thousand whims. His feeling about his troops seems to have resembled a miser's feeling about his money. He loved to collect them, to count them, to see them increase ; but he could not find it in his heart to break in upon the precious  
30 hoard. He looked forward to some future time when his Patagonian battalions were to drive hostile infantry before them like sheep : but this future time was always receding ; and it is probable that, if his life had been prolonged thirty years, his superb army would never have seen any harder  
35 service than a sham fight in the fields near Berlin. But the great military means which he had collected were destined



to be employed by a spirit far more daring and inventive than his own.

Frederic, surnamed the Great, son of Frederic William, was born in January 1712. It may safely be pronounced that he had received from nature a strong and sharp understanding, and a rare firmness of temper and intensity of will. As to the other parts of his character, it is difficult to say whether they are to be ascribed to nature, or to the strange training which he underwent. The history of his boyhood is painfully interesting. Oliver Twist in the parish 5 workhouse, Smike at Dotheboys Hall, were petted children when compared with this wretched heir-apparent of a crown. The nature of Frederic William was hard and bad, and the habit of exercising arbitrary power had made him frightfully savage. His rage constantly vented itself to right and left 15 in curses and blows. When his Majesty took a walk, every human being fled before him, as if a tiger had broken loose from a menagerie. If he met a lady in the street, he gave her a kick, and told her to go home and mind her brats. If he saw a clergyman staring at the soldiers, he admonished 20 the reverend gentleman to betake himself to study and prayer, and enforced this pious advice by a sound caning, administered on the spot. But it was in his own house that he was most unreasonable and ferocious. His palace was hell, and he the most execrable of fiends, a cross between 25 Moloch and Puck. His son Frederic and his daughter Wilhelmina, afterwards Margravine of Bareuth, were in an especial manner objects of his aversion. His own mind was uncultivated. He despised literature. He hated infidels, papists, and metaphysicians, and did not very well under- 30 stand in what they differed from each other. The business of life, according to him, was to drill and to be drilled. The recreations suited to a prince, were to sit in a cloud of tobacco smoke, to sip Swedish beer between the puffs of the pipe, to play backgammon for three-halfpence a rubber, to 35 kill wild hogs, and to shoot partridges by the thousand.

The Prince Royal showed little inclination either for the serious employments or for the amusements of his father. He shirked the duties of the parade: he detested the fume of tobacco: he had no taste either for backgammon or for field sports. He had an exquisite ear, and performed skillfully on the flute. His earliest instructors had been French refugees, and they had awakened in him a strong passion for French literature and French society. Frederic William regarded these tastes as effeminate and contemptible, and, by abuse and persecution, made them still stronger. Things became worse when the Prince Royal attained that time of life at which the great revolution in the human mind and body takes place. He was guilty of some youthful indiscretions, which no good and wise parent would regard with severity. At a later period he was accused, truly or falsely, of vices from which History averts her eyes, and which even Satire blushes to name, vices such that, to borrow the energetic language of Lord Keeper Coventry, "the depraved nature of man which of itself carrieth man to all other sin, abhorreth them." But the offences of his youth were not characterized by any peculiar turpitude. They excited, however, transports of rage in the king, who hated all faults except those to which he was himself inclined, and who conceived that he made ample atonement to Heaven for his brutality, by holding the softer passions in detestation. The Prince Royal, too, was not one of those who are content to take their religion on trust. He asked puzzling questions, and brought forward arguments which seemed to savour of something different from pure Lutheranism. The King suspected that his son was inclined to be a heretic of some sort or other, whether Calvinist or Atheist his Majesty did not very well know. The ordinary malignity of Frederic William was bad enough. He now thought malignity a part of his duty as a Christian man, and all the conscience that he had stimulated his hatred. The flute was broken: the French books were sent out of the palace: the Prince was

kicked and cudgelled, and pulled by the hair. At dinner the plates were hurled at his head : sometimes he was restricted to bread and water : sometimes he was forced to swallow food so nauseous that he could not keep it on his stomach. Once his father knocked him down, dragged him along the 5 floor to a window, and was with difficulty prevented from strangling him with the cord of the curtain. The Queen, for the crime of not wishing to see her son murdered, was subjected to the grossest indignities. The Princess Wilhelmina, who took her brother's part, was treated almost as ill as 10 Mrs. Brownrigg's apprentices. Driven to despair, the unhappy youth tried to run away. Then the fury of the old tyrant rose to madness. The Prince was an officer in the army : his flight was therefore desertion ; and, in the moral code of Frederic William, desertion was the highest of 15 all crimes. "Desertion," says this royal theologian, in one of his half crazy letters, "is from hell. It is a work of the children of the Devil. No child of God could possibly be guilty of it." An accomplice of the Prince, in spite of the recommendation of a court-martial, was mercilessly put to 20 death. It seemed probable that the Prince himself would suffer the same fate. It was with difficulty that the intercession of the States of Holland, of the Kings of Sweden and Poland, and of the Emperor of Germany, saved the House of Brandenburg from the stain of an unnatural murder. 25 After months of cruel suspense, Frederic learned that his life would be spared. He remained, however, long a prisoner ; but he was not on that account to be pitied. He found in his gaolers a tenderness which he had never found in his father ; his table was not sumptuous, but he had 30 wholesome food in sufficient quantity to appease hunger : he could read the *Henriade* without being kicked, and could play on his flute without having it broken over his head.

When his confinement terminated he was a man. He had nearly completed his twenty-first year, and could scarcely 35 be kept much longer under the restraints which had made

his boyhood miserable. Suffering had matured his understanding, while it had hardened his heart and soured his temper. He had learned self-command and dissimulation : he affected to conform to some of his father's views, and  
5 submissively accepted a wife, who was a wife only in name, from his father's hand. He also served with credit, though without any opportunity of acquiring brilliant distinction, under the command of Prince Eugene, during a campaign marked by no extraordinary events. He was now permitted  
10 to keep a separate establishment, and was therefore able to indulge with caution his own tastes. Partly in order to conciliate the king, and partly, no doubt, from inclination, he gave up a portion of his time to military and political business, and thus gradually acquired such an aptitude for  
15 affairs as his most intimate associates were not aware that he possessed.

His favourite abode was at Rheinsberg, near the frontier which separates the Prussian dominions from the Duchy of Mecklenburg. Rheinsberg is a fertile and smiling spot, in  
20 the midst of the sandy waste of the Marquisate. The mansion, surrounded by woods of oak and beech, looks out upon a spacious lake. There Frederic amused himself by laying out gardens in regular alleys and intricate mazes, by building obelisks, temples, and conservatories, and by  
25 collecting rare fruits and flowers. His retirement was enlivened by a few companions, among whom he seems to have preferred those who, by birth or extraction, were French. With these inmates he dined and supped well, drank freely, and amused himself sometimes with concerts,  
30 and sometimes with holding chapters of a fraternity which he called the Order of Bayard ; but literature was his chief resource.

His education had been entirely French. The long ascendancy which Lewis XIV. had enjoyed, and the eminent  
35 merit of the tragic and comic dramatists, of the satirists, and of the preachers who had flourished under that mag-

nificent prince, had made the French language predominant in Europe. Even in countries which had a national literature, and which could boast of names greater than those of Racine, of Molière, and of Massillon, in the country of Dante, in the country of Cervantes, in the country of 5 Shakspeare and Milton, the intellectual fashions of Paris had been to a great extent adopted. Germany had not yet produced a single masterpiece of poetry or eloquence. In Germany, therefore, the French taste reigned without rival and without limit. Every youth of rank was taught to 10 speak and write French. That he should speak and write his own tongue with politeness, or even with accuracy and facility, was regarded as comparatively an unimportant object. Even Frederic William, with all his rugged Saxon prejudices, thought it necessary that his children should 15 know French, and quite unnecessary that they should be well versed in German. The Latin was positively interdicted, "My son," his Majesty wrote, "shall not learn Latin, and, more than that, I will not suffer any body even to mention such a thing to me." One of the preceptors 20 ventured to read the Golden Bull in the original with the Prince Royal. Frederic William entered the room, and broke out in his usual kingly style.

"Rascal, what are you at there?"

"Please your Majesty," answered the preceptor, "I was 25 explaining the Golden Bull to his Royal Highness."

"I'll Golden Bull you, you rascal!" roared the Majesty of Prussia. Up went the King's cane; away ran the terrified instructor; and Frederic's classical studies ended for ever. He now and then affected to quote Latin 30 sentences, and produced such exquisitely Ciceronian phrases as these:—"Stante pede morire,"—"De gustibus non est disputandus,"—"Tot verbas tot spondera." Of Italian, he had not enough to read a page of Metastasio with ease; and of the Spanish and English, he did not, as far as we 35 are aware, understand a single word.

As the highest human compositions to which he had access were those of the French writers, it is not strange that his admiration for those writers should have been unbounded. His ambitious and eager temper early  
5 prompted him to imitate what he admired. The wish, perhaps, dearest to his heart was, that he might rank among the masters of French rhetoric and poetry. He wrote prose and verse as indefatigably as if he had been a starving hack of Cave or Osborn ; but Nature, which had  
10 bestowed on him, in a large measure, the talents of a captain and of an administrator, had withheld from him those higher and rarer gifts, without which industry labours in vain to produce immortal eloquence and song. And, indeed, had he been blessed with more imagination, wit,  
15 and fertility of thought, than he appears to have had, he would still have been subject to one great disadvantage, which would, in all probability, have for ever prevented him from taking a high place among men of letters. He had not the full command of any language. There was no  
20 machine of thought which he could employ with perfect ease, confidence, and freedom. He had German enough to scold his servants, or to give the word of command to his grenadiers ; but his grammar and pronunciation were extremely bad. He found it difficult to make out the  
25 meaning even of the simplest German poetry. On one occasion a version of Racine's *Iphigénie* was read to him. He held the French original in his hand ; but was forced to own that, even with such help, he could not understand the translation. Yet, though he had neglected his mother  
30 tongue in order to bestow all his attention on French, his French was, after all, the French of a foreigner. It was necessary for him to have always at his beck some men of letters from Paris to point out the solecisms and false rhymes of which, to the last, he was frequently guilty.  
35 Even had he possessed the poetic faculty, of which, as far as we can judge, he was utterly destitute, the want of a

language would have prevented him from being a great poet. No noble work of imagination, as far as we recollect, was ever composed by any man, except in a dialect which he had learned without remembering how or when, and which he had spoken with perfect ease before he had ever 5 analyzed its structure. Romans of great abilities wrote Greek verses; but how many of those verses have deserved to live? Many men of eminent genius have, in modern times, written Latin poems; but, as far as we are aware, none of those poems, not even Milton's, can be ranked in 10 the first class of art, or even very high in the second. It is not strange, therefore, that, in the French verses of Frederic, we can find nothing beyond the reach of any man of good parts and industry, nothing above the level of Newdigate and Seatonian poetry. His best pieces may 15 perhaps rank with the worst in Dodsley's collection. In history, he succeeded better. We do not indeed find, in any part of his voluminous Memoirs, either deep reflection or vivid painting. But the narrative is distinguished by clearness, conciseness, good sense, and a certain air of truth 20 and simplicity, which is singularly graceful in a man who, having done great things, sits down to relate them. On the whole, however, none of his writings are so agreeable to us as his Letters, particularly those which are written with earnestness, and are not embroidered with verses. 25

It is not strange that a young man devoted to literature, and acquainted only with the literature of France, should have looked with profound veneration on the genius of Voltaire. "A man who has never seen the sun," says Calderon, in one of his charming comedies, "cannot be 30 blamed for thinking that no glory can exceed that of the moon. A man who has seen neither moon nor sun, cannot be blamed for talking of the unrivalled brightness of the morning star." Had Frederic been able to read Homer and Milton, or even Virgil and Tasso, his admiration of the 35 *Henriade* would prove that he was utterly destitute of the

power of discerning what is excellent in art. Had he been familiar with Sophocles or Shakspeare, we should have expected him to appreciate Zaire more justly. Had he been able to study Thucydides and Tacitus in the original Greek and Latin, he would have known that there were heights in the eloquence of history far beyond the reach of the author of the Life of Charles the Twelfth. But the finest heroic poem, several of the most powerful tragedies, and the most brilliant and picturesque historical work that Frederic had ever read, were Voltaire's. Such high and various excellence moved the young Prince almost to adoration. The opinions of Voltaire on religious and philosophical questions had not yet been fully exhibited to the public. At a later period, when an exile from his country, and at open war with the Church, he spoke out. But when Frederic was at Rheinsberg, Voltaire was still a courtier; and, though he could not always curb his petulant wit, he had as yet published nothing that could exclude him from Versailles, and little that a divine of the mild and generous school of Grotius and Tillotson might not read with pleasure. In the *Henriade*, in *Zaire*, and in *Alzire*, Christian piety is exhibited in the most amiable form; and, some years after the period of which we are writing, a Pope condescended to accept the dedication of *Mahomet*. The real sentiments of the poet, however, might be clearly perceived by a keen eye through the decent disguise with which he veiled them, and could not escape the sagacity of Frederic, who held similar opinions, and had been accustomed to practise similar dissimulation.

The Prince wrote to his idol in the style of a worshipper; and Voltaire replied with exquisite grace and address. A correspondence followed, which may be studied with advantage by those who wish to become proficient in the ignoble art of flattery. No man ever paid compliments better than Voltaire. His sweetest confectionery had always a delicate, yet stimulating flavour, which was delightful to palates wearied by the coarse preparations of inferior artists. It



was only from his hand that so much sugar could be swallowed without making the swallower sick. Copies of verses, writing-desks, trinkets of amber, were exchanged between the friends. Frederic confided his writings to Voltaire; and Voltaire applauded, as if Frederic had been 5 Racine and Bossuet in one. One of his Royal Highness's performances was a refutation of Machiavelli. Voltaire undertook to convey it to the press. It was entitled the *Anti-Machiavel*, and was an edifying homily against rapacity, perfidy, arbitrary government, unjust war, in 10 short, against almost everything for which its author is now remembered among men.

The old king uttered now and then a ferocious growl at the diversions of Rheinsberg. But his health was broken; his end was approaching; and his vigour was impaired. He 15 had only one pleasure left, that of seeing tall soldiers. He could always be propitiated by a present of a grenadier of six feet four or six feet five; and such presents were from time to time judiciously offered by his son.

Early in the year 1740, Frederic William met death with 20 a firmness and dignity worthy of a better and wiser man; and Frederic, who had just completed his twenty-eighth year, became King of Prussia. His character was little understood. That he had good abilities, indeed, no person who had talked with him, or corresponded with him, could 25 doubt. But the easy Epicurean life which he had led, his love of good cookery and good wine, of music, of conversation, of light literature, led many to regard him as a sensual and intellectual voluptuary. His habit of canting about moderation, peace, liberty, and the happiness which a good 30 mind derives from the happiness of others, had imposed on some who should have known better. Those who thought best of him, expected a *Telemachus* after *Fénélon's* pattern. Others predicted the approach of a *Medicean* age, an age propitious to learning and art, and not unpropitious to 35 pleasure. Nobody had the least suspicion that a tyrant of

extraordinary military and political talents, of industry more extraordinary still, without fear, without faith, and without mercy, had ascended the throne.

The disappointment of Falstaff at his old boon companion's coronation was not more bitter than that which awaited some of the inmates of Rheinsberg. They had long looked forward to the accession of their patron, as to the event from which their own prosperity and greatness was to date. They had at last reached the promised land, the land which they had figured to themselves as flowing with milk and honey; and they found it a desert. "No more of these fooleries," was the short, sharp admonition given by Frederic to one of them. It soon became plain that, in the most important points, the new sovereign bore a strong family likeness to his predecessor. There was indeed a wide difference between the father and the son as respected extent and vigour of intellect, speculative opinions, amusements, studies, outward demeanour. But the groundwork of the character was the same in both. To both were common the love of order, the love of business, the military taste, the parsimony, the imperious spirit, the temper irritable even to ferocity, the pleasure in the pain and humiliation of others. But these propensities had in Frederic William partaken of the general unsoundness of his mind, and wore a very different aspect when found in company with the strong and cultivated understanding of his successor. Thus, for example, Frederic was as anxious as any prince could be about the efficiency of his army. But this anxiety never degenerated into a monomania, like that which led his father to pay fancy prices for giants. Frederic was as thrifty about money as any prince or any private man ought to be. But he did not conceive, like his father, that it was worth while to eat unwholesome cabbages for the purpose of saving four or five rixdollars in the year. Frederic was, we fear, as malevolent as his father; but Frederic's wit enabled him often to show his malevolence in ways more decent than

those to which his father resorted, and to inflict misery and degradation by a taunt instead of a blow. Frederic, it is true, by no means relinquished his hereditary privilege of kicking and cudgelling. His practice, however, as to that matter, differed in some important respects from his father's. 5 To Frederic William, the mere circumstance that any persons whatever, men, women, or children, Prussians or foreigners, were within reach of his toes and of his cane, appeared to be a sufficient reason for proceeding to belabour them. Frederic required provocation as well as vicinity; nor was he 10 ever known to inflict this paternal species of correction on any but his born subjects, though on one occasion M. Thiébauld had reason, during a few seconds, to anticipate the high honour of being an exception to this general rule.

The character of Frederic was still very imperfectly 15 understood either by his subjects or by his neighbours, when events occurred which exhibited it in a strong light. A few months after his accession died Charles VI., Emperor of Germany, the last descendant, in the male line, of the house of Austria. 20

Charles left no son, and had, long before his death, relinquished all hopes of male issue. During the latter part of his life, his principal object had been to secure to his descendants in the female line the many crowns of the house of Hapsburg. With this view, he had promulgated a 25 new law of succession, widely celebrated throughout Europe under the name of the Pragmatic Sanction. By virtue of this law, his daughter, the Archduchess Maria Theresa, wife of Francis of Lorraine, succeeded to the dominions of her ancestors. 30

No sovereign has ever taken possession of a throne by a clearer title. All the politics of the Austrian cabinet had, during twenty years, been directed to one single end, the settlement of the succession. From every person whose rights could be considered as injuriously affected, renunciations in 35 the most solemn form had been obtained. The new law had

been ratified by the Estates of all the kingdoms and principalities which made up the great Austrian monarchy. England, France, Spain, Russia, Poland, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, the Germanic body, had bound themselves by  
5 treaty to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction. That instrument was placed under the protection of the public faith of the whole civilized world.

Even if no positive stipulations on this subject had existed, the arrangement was one which no good man would  
10 have been willing to disturb. It was a peaceable arrangement. It was an arrangement acceptable to the great population whose happiness was chiefly concerned. It was an arrangement which made no change in the distribution of power among the states of Christendom. It was an arrange-  
15 ment which could be set aside only by means of a general war ; and, if it were set aside, the effect would be, that the equilibrium of Europe would be deranged, that the loyal and patriotic feelings of millions would be cruelly outraged, and that great provinces which have been united for centuries  
20 would be torn from each other by main force.

The sovereigns of Europe were, therefore, bound by every obligation which those who are intrusted with power over their fellow-creatures ought to hold most sacred, to respect and defend the rights of the Archduchess. Her situation  
25 and her personal qualities were such as might be expected to move the mind of any generous man to pity, admiration, and chivalrous tenderness. She was in her twenty-fourth year. Her form was majestic, her features beautiful, her countenance sweet and animated, her voice musical, her deportment  
30 gracious and dignified. In all domestic relations she was without reproach. She was married to a husband whom she loved, and was on the point of giving birth to a child, when death deprived her of her father. The loss of a parent, and the new cares of empire, were too much for her in the  
35 delicate state of her health. Her spirits were depressed, and her cheek lost its bloom. Yet it seemed that she had little

cause for anxiety. It seemed that justice, humanity, and the faith of treaties would have their due weight, and that the settlement so solemnly guaranteed would be quietly carried into effect. England, Russia, Poland, and Holland, declared in form their intention to adhere to their engagements. The 5 French ministers made a verbal declaration to the same effect. But from no quarter did the young Queen of Hungary receive stronger assurances of friendship and support than from the King of Prussia.

Yet the King of Prussia, the Anti-Machiavel, had already 10 fully determined to commit the great crime of violating his plighted faith, of robbing the ally whom he was bound to defend, and of plunging all Europe into a long, bloody, and desolating war; and all this for no end whatever, except that he might extend his dominions, and see his name in the 15 gazettes. He determined to assemble a great army with speed and secrecy, to invade Silesia before Maria Theresa should be apprised of his design, and to add that rich province to his kingdom.

We will not condescend to refute at length the pleas 20 which the compiler of the Memoirs before us has copied from Doctor Preuss. They amount to this, that the house of Brandenburg had some ancient pretensions to Silesia, and had in the previous century been compelled, by hard usage on the part of the Court of Vienna, to waive those preten- 25 sions. It is certain that, whoever might originally have been in the right, Prussia had submitted. Prince after prince of the house of Brandenburg had acquiesced in the existing arrangement. Nay, the Court of Berlin had recently been allied with that of Vienna, and had guaranteed the integrity 30 of the Austrian states. Is it not perfectly clear that, if antiquated claims are to be set up against recent treaties and long possession, the world can never be at peace for a day? The laws of all nations have wisely established a time of limitation, after which titles, however illegitimate in their 36 origin, cannot be questioned. It is felt by everybody, that

to eject a person from his estate on the ground of some injustice committed in the time of the Tudors would produce all evils which result from arbitrary confiscation, and would make all property insecure. It concerns the commonwealth  
5 —so runs the legal maxim—that there be an end of litigation. And surely this maxim is at least equally applicable to the great commonwealth of states; for in that commonwealth litigation means the devastation of provinces, the suspension of trade and industry, sieges like those of Badajos  
10 and St. Sebastian, pitched fields like those of Eylau and Borodino. We hold that the transfer of Norway from Denmark to Sweden was an unjustifiable proceeding; but would the king of Denmark be therefore justified in landing, without any new provocation, in Norway, and commencing  
15 military operations there? The king of Holland thinks, no doubt, that he was unjustly deprived of the Belgian provinces. Grant that it were so. Would he, therefore, be justified in marching with an army on Brussels? The case against Frederic was still stronger, inasmuch as the injustice  
20 of which he complained had been committed more than a century before. Nor must it be forgotten that he owed the highest personal obligations to the house of Austria. It may be doubted whether his life had not been preserved by the intercession of the prince whose daughter he was about  
25 to plunder.

To do the King justice, he pretended to no more virtue than he had. In manifestoes he might, for form's sake, insert some idle stories about his antiquated claim on Silesia; but in his conversations and Memoirs he took a  
30 very different tone. His own words are: "Ambition, interest, the desire of making people talk about me, carried the day; and I decided for war."

Having resolved on this course, he acted with ability and vigour. It was impossible wholly to conceal his preparations;  
35 tions; for throughout the Prussian territories regiments guns, and baggage were in motion. The Austrian envoy at

Berlin apprised his court of these facts, and expressed a suspicion of Frederic's designs ; but the ministers of Maria Theresa refused to give credit to so black an imputation on a young prince who was known chiefly by his high professions of integrity and philanthropy. "We will not," they wrote, 5  
"we cannot, believe it."

In the mean time the Prussian forces had been assembled. Without any declaration of war, without any demand for reparation, in the very act of pouring forth compliments and assurances of good-will, Frederic commenced hostilities. 10  
Many thousands of his troops were actually in Silesia before the Queen of Hungary knew that he had set up any claim to any part of her territories. At length he sent her a message which could be regarded only as an insult. If she would but let him have Silesia, he would, he said, stand by 15  
her against any power which should try to deprive her of her other dominions ; as if he was not already bound to stand by her, or as if his new promise could be of more value than the old one.

It was the depth of winter. The cold was severe, and the 20  
roads heavy with mire. But the Prussians pressed on. Resistance was impossible. The Austrian army was then neither numerous nor efficient. The small portion of that army which lay in Silesia was unprepared for hostilities. Glogau was blockaded ; Breslau opened its gates ; Ohlau 25  
was evacuated. A few scattered garrisons still held out ; but the whole open country was subjugated : no enemy ventured to encounter the King in the field ; and, before the end of January 1741, he returned to receive the congratulations of his subjects at Berlin. 30

Had the Silesian question been merely a question between Frederic and Maria Theresa, it would be impossible to acquit the Prussian King of gross perfidy. But when we consider the effects which his policy produced, and could not fail to produce, on the whole community of civilized nations, 35  
we are compelled to pronounce a condemnation still more

severe. Till he began the war, it seemed possible, even probable, that the peace of the world would be preserved. The plunder of the great Austrian heritage was indeed a strong temptation ; and in more than one cabinet ambitious schemes were already meditated. But the treaties by which the Pragmatic Sanction had been guaranteed were express and recent. To throw all Europe in confusion for a purpose clearly unjust, was no light matter. England was true to her engagements. The voice of Fleury had always been for peace. He had a conscience. He was now in extreme old age, and was unwilling, after a life which, when his situation was considered, must be pronounced singularly pure, to carry the fresh stain of a great crime before the tribunal of his God. Even the vain and unprincipled Belle-Isle, whose whole life was one wild day-dream of conquest and spoliation, felt that France, bound as she was by solemn stipulations, could not, without disgrace, make a direct attack on the Austrian dominions. Charles, Elector of Bavaria, pretended that he had a right to a large part of the inheritance which the Pragmatic Sanction gave to the Queen of Hungary ; but he was not sufficiently powerful to move without support. It might, therefore, not unreasonably be expected that, after a short period of restlessness, all the potentates of Christendom would acquiesce in the arrangements made by the late Emperor. But the selfish rapacity of the King of Prussia gave the signal to his neighbours. His example quieted their sense of shame. His success led them to underrate the difficulty of dismembering the Austrian monarchy. The whole world sprang to arms. On the head of Frederic is all the blood which was shed in a war which raged during many years and in every quarter of the globe, the blood of the column of Fontenoy, the blood of the mountaineers who were slaughtered at Culloden. The evils produced by his wickedness were felt in lands where the name of Prussia was unknown ; and, in order that he might rob a neighbour



whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America.

Silesia had been occupied without a battle, but the Austrian troops were advancing to the relief of the fortresses 5 which still held out. In the spring Frederic rejoined his army. He had seen little of war, and had never commanded any great body of men in the field. It is not, therefore, strange that his first military operations showed little of that skill which, at a later period, was the admiration of 10 Europe. What connoisseurs say of some pictures painted by Raphael in his youth, may be said of this campaign. It was in Frederic's early bad manner. Fortunately for him, the generals to whom he was opposed were men of small capacity. The discipline of his own troops, particularly of 15 the infantry, was unequalled in that age; and some able and experienced officers were at hand to assist him with their advice. Of these, the most distinguished was Field-Marshal Schwerin, a brave adventurer of Pomeranian extraction, who had served half the governments in Europe, had borne the 20 commissions of the States-General of Holland and of the Duke of Mecklenburg, had fought under Marlborough at Blenheim, and had been with Charles the Twelfth at Bender.

Frederic's first battle was fought at Molwitz; and never did the career of a great commander open in a more inaus- 25 picious manner. His army was victorious. Not only, however, did he not establish his title to the character of an able general, but he was so unfortunate as to make it doubtful whether he possessed the vulgar courage of a soldier. The cavalry, which he commanded in person, was put to flight. 30 Unaccustomed to the tumult and carnage of a field of battle, he lost his self-possession, and listened too readily to those who urged him to save himself. His English grey carried him many miles from the field, while Schwerin, though wounded in two places, manfully upheld the day. The skill 35 of the old Field-Marshal and the steadiness of the Prussian

battalions prevailed, and the Austrian army was driven from the field with the loss of eight thousand men.

The news was carried late at night to a mill in which the King had taken shelter. It gave him a bitter pang. He  
5 was successful; but he owed his success to dispositions which others had made, and to the valour of men who had fought while he was flying. So unpromising was the first appearance of the greatest warrior of that age!

The battle of Molwitz was the signal for a general explosion throughout Europe. Bavaria took up arms. France, not yet declaring herself a principal in the war, took part in it as an ally of Bavaria. The two great statesmen to whom mankind had owed many years of tranquillity, disappeared about this time from the scene, but not till they had both  
15 been guilty of the weakness of sacrificing their sense of justice and their love of peace to the vain hope of preserving their power. Fleury, sinking under age and infirmity, was borne down by the impetuosity of Belle-Isle. Walpole retired from the service of his ungrateful country to his  
20 woods and paintings at Houghton; and his power devolved on the daring and eccentric Carteret. As were the ministers, so were the nations. Thirty years during which Europe had, with few interruptions, enjoyed repose, had prepared the public mind for great military efforts. A new generation had grown up, which could not remember the siege of  
25 Turin or the slaughter of Malplaquet; which knew war by nothing but its trophies; and which, while it looked with pride on the tapestries at Blenheim, or the statue in the Place of Victories, little thought by what privations, by  
30 what waste of private fortunes, by how many bitter tears, conquests must be purchased.

For a time fortune seemed adverse to the Queen of Hungary. Frederic invaded Moravia. The French and Bavarians penetrated into Bohemia and were there joined by the  
35 Saxons. Prague was taken. The Elector of Bavaria was raised by the suffrages of his colleagues to the Imperial

throne—a throne which the practice of centuries had almost entitled the House of Austria to regard as a hereditary possession.

Yet was the spirit of the haughty daughter of the Cæsars unbroken. Hungary was still hers by an unquestionable title; and, although her ancestors had found Hungary the most mutinous of all their kingdoms, she resolved to trust herself to the fidelity of a people, rude indeed, turbulent, and impatient of oppression, but brave, generous, and simple-hearted. In the midst of distress and peril she had given birth to a son, afterwards the Emperor Joseph the Second. Scarcely had she risen from her couch, when she hastened to Presburg. There, in the sight of an innumerable multitude, she was crowned with the crown and robed with the robe of St. Stephen. No spectator could restrain his tears when the beautiful young mother, still weak from child-bearing, rode, after the fashion of her fathers, up the Mount of Defiance, unsheathed the ancient sword of state, shook it towards north and south, east and west, and, with a glow on her pale face, challenged the four corners of the world to dispute her rights and those of her boy. At the first sitting of the Diet she appeared clad in deep mourning for her father, and in pathetic and dignified words implored her people to support her just cause. Magnates and deputies sprang up, half drew their sabres, and with eager voices vowed to stand by her with their lives and fortunes. Till then, her firmness had never once forsaken her before the public eye; but at that shout she sank down upon her throne, and wept aloud. Still more touching was the sight when, a few days later, she came again before the Estates of her realm, and held up before them the little Archduke in her arms. Then it was that the enthusiasm of Hungary broke forth into that war-cry which soon resounded throughout Europe, "Let us die for our King, Maria Theresa!"

In the meantime, Frederic was meditating a change of policy. He had no wish to raise France to supreme power

on the Continent, at the expense of the house of Hapsburg. His first object was to rob the Queen of Hungary. His second object was that, if possible, nobody should rob her but himself. He had entered into engagements with the  
5 powers leagued against Austria ; but these engagements were in his estimation of no more force than the guarantee formerly given to the Pragmatic Sanction. His plan now was to secure his share of the plunder by betraying his accomplices. Maria Theresa was little inclined to listen to  
10 any such compromise ; but the English government represented to her so strongly the necessity of buying off Frederic, that she agreed to negotiate. The negotiation would not, however, have ended in a treaty, had not the arms of Frederic been crowned with a second victory. Prince  
15 Charles of Loraine, brother-in-law to Maria Theresa, a bold and active, though unfortunate general, gave battle to the Prussians at Chotusitz, and was defeated. The King was still only a learner of the military art. He acknowledged, at a later period, that his success on this occasion was to be  
20 attributed, not at all to his own generalship, but solely to the valour and steadiness of his troops. He completely effaced, however, by his personal courage and energy, the stain which Molwitz had left on his reputation.

A peace, concluded under the English mediation, was the  
25 fruit of this battle. Maria Theresa ceded Silesia : Frederic abandoned his allies : Saxony followed his example ; and the Queen was left at liberty to turn her whole force against France and Bavaria. She was every where triumphant. The French were compelled to evacuate Bohemia, and with  
30 difficulty effected their escape. The whole line of their retreat might be tracked by the corpses of thousands who had died of cold, fatigue, and hunger. Many of those who reached their country carried with them the seeds of death. Bavaria was overrun by bands of ferocious warriors from  
35 that bloody debatable land which lies on the frontier between Christendom and Islam. The terrible names of the

Pandoor, the Croat, and the Hussar, then first became familiar to western Europe. The unfortunate Charles of Bavaria, vanquished by Austria, betrayed by Prussia, driven from his hereditary states, and neglected by his allies, was hurried by shame and remorse to an untimely end. An English army appeared in the heart of Germany, and defeated the French at Dettingen. The Austrian captains already began to talk of completing the work of Marlborough and Eugene, and of compelling France to relinquish Alsace and the Three Bishoprics. 10

The Court of Versailles, in this peril, looked to Frederic for help. He had been guilty of two great treasons; perhaps he might be induced to commit a third. The Duchess of Chateauroux then held the chief influence over the feeble Lewis. She determined to send an agent to Berlin; and Voltaire was selected for the mission. He eagerly undertook the task; for, while his literary fame filled all Europe, he was troubled with a childish craving for political distinction. He was vain, and not without reason, of his address, and of his insinuating eloquence; and he flattered himself that he possessed boundless influence over the King of Prussia. The truth was that he knew, as yet, only one corner of Frederic's character. He was well acquainted with all the petty vanities and affectations of the poetaster; but was not aware that these foibles were united with all the talents and vices which lead to success in active life, and that the unlucky versifier who pestered him with reams of middling Alexandrines, was the most vigilant, suspicious, and severe of politicians. 25

Voltaire was received with every mark of respect and friendship, was lodged in the palace, and had a seat daily at the royal table. The negotiation was of an extraordinary description. Nothing can be conceived more whimsical than the conferences which took place between the first literary man and the first practical man of the age, whom a strange weakness had induced to exchange their parts. The great 35

poet would talk of nothing but treaties and guarantees, and the great King of nothing but metaphors and rhymes. On one occasion Voltaire put into his Majesty's hands a paper on the state of Europe, and received it back with verses  
5 scrawled on the margin. In secret they both laughed at each other. Voltaire did not spare the King's poems; and the King has left on record his opinion of Voltaire's diplomacy: "He had no credentials," says Frederic, "and the whole mission was a joke, a mere farce."

10 But what the influence of Voltaire could not effect, the rapid progress of the Austrian arms effected. If it should be in the power of Maria Theresa and George the Second to dictate terms of peace to France, what chance was there that Prussia would long retain Silesia? Frederic's con-  
15 science told him that he had acted perfidiously and inhumanly towards the Queen of Hungary. That her resentment was strong she had given ample proof; and of her respect for treaties he judged by his own. Guarantees, he said, were mere filigree, pretty to look at, but too  
20 brittle to bear the slightest pressure. He thought it his safest course to ally himself closely to France, and again to attack the Empress Queen. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1744, without notice, without any decent pretext, he recommenced hostilities, marched through the electorate  
25 of Saxony without troubling himself about the permission of the Elector, invaded Bohemia, took Prague, and even menaced Vienna.

It was now that, for the first time, he experienced the inconstancy of fortune. An Austrian army under Charles  
30 of Loraine threatened his communications with Silesia. Saxony was all in arms behind him. He found it necessary to save himself by a retreat. He afterwards owned that his failure was the natural effect of his own blunders. No general, he said, had ever committed greater faults. It  
35 must be added, that to the reverses of this campaign he always ascribed his subsequent successes. It was in the

midst of difficulty and disgrace that he caught the first clear glimpse of the principles of the military art.

The memorable year 1745 followed. The war raged by sea and land, in Italy, in Germany, and in Flanders; and even England, after many years of profound internal quiet, 5 saw, for the last time, hostile armies set in battle array against each other. This year is memorable in the life of Frederic, as the date at which his novitiate in the art of war may be said to have terminated. There have been great captains whose precocious and self-taught military skill 10 resembled intuition. Condé, Clive, and Napoleon are examples. But Frederic was not one of these brilliant portents. His proficiency in military science was simply the proficiency which a man of vigorous faculties makes in any science to which he applies his mind with earnestness 15 and industry. It was at Hohenfriedberg that he first proved how much he had profited by his errors, and by their consequences. His victory on that day was chiefly due to his skilful dispositions, and convinced Europe that the prince who, a few years before, had stood aghast in the 20 rout of Molwitz, had attained in the military art a mastery equalled by none of his contemporaries, or equalled by Saxe alone. The victory of Hohenfriedberg was speedily followed by that of Sorr.

In the mean time, the arms of France had been victorious 25 in the Low Countries. Frederic had no longer reason to fear that Maria Theresa would be able to give law to Europe, and he began to meditate a fourth breach of his engagements. The Court of Versailles was alarmed and mortified. A letter of earnest expostulation, in the hand- 30 writing of Lewis, was sent to Berlin; but in vain. In the autumn of 1745, Frederic made peace with England, and, before the close of the year, with Austria also. The pretensions of Charles of Bavaria could present no obstacle to an accommodation. That unhappy prince was no more; 35 and Francis of Lorraine, the husband of Maria Theresa, was

raised, with the general assent of the Germanic body, to the Imperial throne.

Prussia was again at peace ; but the European war lasted till, in the year 1748, it was terminated by the treaty of 5 Aix-la-Chapelle. Of all the powers that had taken part in it, the only gainer was Frederic. Not only had he added to his patrimony the fine province of Silesia : he had, by his unprincipled dexterity, succeeded so well in alternately depressing the scale of Austria and that of France, that he 10 was generally regarded as holding the balance of Europe, a high dignity for one who ranked lowest among kings, and whose great-grandfather had been no more than a Margrave. By the public, the King of Prussia was considered as a politician destitute alike of morality and decency, insatiably 15 rapacious, and shamelessly false ; nor was the public much in the wrong. He was at the same time allowed to be a man of parts, a rising general, a shrewd negotiator and administrator. Those qualities wherein he surpassed all mankind, were as yet unknown to others or to himself ; for 20 they were qualities which shine out only on a dark ground. His career had hitherto, with little interruption, been prosperous : and it was only in adversity, in adversity which seemed without hope or resource, in adversity which would have overwhelmed even men celebrated for strength of 25 mind, that his real greatness could be shown.

He had, from the commencement of his reign, applied himself to public business after a fashion unknown among kings. Lewis XIV., indeed, had been his own prime minister, and had exercised a general superintendence over 30 all the departments of the government ; but this was not sufficient for Frederic. He was not content with being his own prime minister : he would be his own sole minister. Under him there was no room, not merely for a Richelieu or a Mazarin, but for a Colbert, a Louvois, or a Torcy. A love 35 of labour for its own sake, a restless and insatiable longing to dictate, to intermeddle, to make his power felt, a pro-



found scorn and distrust of his fellow-creatures, made him unwilling to ask counsel, to confide important secrets, to delegate ample powers. The highest functionaries under his government were mere clerks, and were not so much trusted by him as valuable clerks are often trusted by the 5 heads of departments. He was his own treasurer, his own commander-in-chief, his own intendant of public works, his own minister for trade and justice, for home affairs and foreign affairs, his own master of the horse, steward, and chamberlain. Matters, of which no chief of an office in any 10 other government would ever hear, were, in this singular monarchy, decided by the King in person. If a traveller wished for a good place to see a review, he had to write to Frederic, and received next day, from a royal messenger, Frederic's answer signed by Frederic's own hand. 15 This was an extravagant, a morbid activity. The public business would assuredly have been better done if each department had been put under a man of talents and integrity, and if the King had contented himself with a general control. In this manner the advantages which 20 belong to unity of design, and the advantages which belong to the division of labour, would have been to a great extent combined. But such a system would not have suited the peculiar temper of Frederic. He could tolerate no will, no reason, in the state, save his own. He wished for no abler 25 assistance than that of penmen who had just understanding enough to translate and transcribe, to make out his scrawls, and to put his concise Yes and No into an official form. Of the higher intellectual faculties, there is as much in a copying machine, or a lithographic press, as he required 30 from a secretary of the cabinet.

His own exertions were such as were hardly to be expected from a human body or a human mind. At Potsdam, his ordinary residence, he rose at three in summer and four in winter. A page soon appeared, with a large 35 basket full of all the letters which had arrived for the King

by the last courier, despatches from ambassadors, reports from officers of revenue, plans of buildings, proposals for draining marshes, complaints from persons who thought themselves aggrieved, applications from persons who wanted  
5 titles, military commissions, and civil situations. He examined the seals with a keen eye ; for he was never for a moment free from the suspicion that some fraud might be practised on him. Then he read the letters, divided them into several packets, and signified his pleasure, generally by  
10 a mark, often by two or three words, now and then by some cutting epigram. By eight he had generally finished this part of his task. The adjutant-general was then in attendance, and received instructions for the day as to all the military arrangements of the kingdom. Then the King  
15 went to review his guards, not as kings ordinarily review their guards, but with the minute attention and severity of an old drill-sergeant. In the mean time the four cabinet secretaries had been employed in answering the letters on which the King had that morning signified his will. These  
20 unhappy men were forced to work all the year round like negro slaves in the time of the sugar-crop. They never had a holiday. They never knew what it was to line. It was necessary that, before they stirred, they should finish the whole of their work. The King, always on his guard against  
25 treachery, took from the heap a handful of letters at random, and looked into them to see whether his instructions had been exactly followed. This was no bad security against foul play on the part of the secretaries ; for if one of them were detected in a trick, he might think himself fortunate  
30 if he escaped with five years of imprisonment in a dungeon. Frederic then signed the replies, and all were sent off the same evening.

The general principles on which this strange government was conducted, deserve attention. The policy of Frederic  
35 was essentially the same as his father's ; but Frederic, while he carried that policy to lengths to which his father never

thought of carrying it, cleared it at the same time from the absurdities with which his father had encumbered it. The King's first object was to have a great, efficient, and well-trained army. He had a kingdom which in extent and population was hardly in the second rank of European powers ; and yet he aspired to a place not inferior to that of the sovereigns of England, France, and Austria. For that end it was necessary that Prussia should be all sting. Lewis XV., with five times as many subjects as Frederic, and more than five times as large a revenue, had not a more formidable army. The proportion which the soldiers in Prussia bore to the people seems hardly credible. Of the males in the vigour of life, a seventh part were probably under arms ; and this great force had, by drilling, by reviewing, and by the unsparing use of cane and scourge, been taught to perform all evolutions with a rapidity and a precision which would have astonished Villars or Eugene. The elevated feelings which are necessary to the best kind of army were then wanting to the Prussian service. In those ranks were not found the religious and political enthusiasm which inspired the pikemen of Cromwell, the patriotic ardour, the thirst of glory, the devotion to a great leader, which inflamed the Old Guard of Napoleon. But in all the mechanical parts of the military calling, the Prussians were as superior to the English and French troops of that day, as the English and French troops to a rustic militia.

Though the pay of the Prussian soldier was small, though every rixdollar of extraordinary charge was scrutinized by Frederic with a vigilance and suspicion such as Mr. Joseph Hume never brought to the examination of an army estimate, the expense of such an establishment was, for the means of the country, enormous. In order that it might not be utterly ruinous, it was necessary that every other expense should be cut down to the lowest possible point. Accordingly, Frederic, though his dominions bordered on the sea, had no navy. He neither had, nor wished to have

colonies. His judges, his fiscal officers, were meanly paid. His ministers at foreign courts walked on foot, or drove shabby old carriages till the axle-trees gave way. Even to his highest diplomatic agents, who resided at London and Paris, he allowed less than a thousand pounds sterling a-year. The royal household was managed with a frugality unusual in the establishments of opulent subjects, unexampled in any other palace. The king loved good eating and drinking, and during great part of his life took pleasure in seeing his table surrounded by guests ; yet the whole charge of his kitchen was brought within the sum of two thousand pounds sterling a-year. He examined every extraordinary item with a care which might be thought to suit the mistress of a boarding-house better than a great prince. When more than four rixdollars were asked of him for a hundred oysters, he stormed as if he had heard that one of his generals had sold a fortress to the Empress Queen. Not a bottle of champagne was uncorked without his express order. The game of the royal parks and forests, a serious head of expenditure in most kingdoms, was to him a source of profit. The whole was farmed out ; and, though the farmers were almost ruined by their contract, the King would grant them no remission. His wardrobe consisted of one fine gala dress, which lasted him all his life ; of two or three old coats fit for Monmouth Street, of yellow waistcoats soiled with snuff, and of huge boots embrowned by time. One taste alone sometimes allured him beyond the limits of parsimony, nay, even beyond the limits of prudence, the taste for building. In all other things his economy was such as we might call by a harsher name, if we did not reflect that his funds were drawn from a heavily taxed people, and that it was impossible for him, without excessive tyranny, to keep up at once a formidable army and a splendid court.

35 Considered as an administrator, Frederic had undoubtedly many titles to praise. Order was strictly maintained

throughout his dominions. Property was secure. A great liberty of speaking and of writing was allowed. Confident in the irresistible strength derived from a great army, the King looked down on malcontents and libellers with a wise disdain; and gave little encouragement to spies and in- 5 formers. When he was told of the disaffection of one of his subjects, he merely asked, "How many thousand men can he bring into the field?" He once saw a crowd staring at something on a wall. He rode up, and found that the object of curiosity was a scurrilous placard against himself. The 10 placard had been posted up so high that it was not easy to read it. Frederic ordered his attendants to take it down and put it lower. "My people and I," he said, "have come to an agreement which satisfies us both. They are to say what they please, and I am to do what I please." No person 15 would have dared to publish in London satires on George II. approaching to the atrocity of those satires on Frederic, which the booksellers at Berlin sold with impunity. One bookseller sent to the palace a copy of the most stinging lampoon that perhaps was ever written in the world, the 20 *Memoirs of Voltaire*, published by Beaumarchais, and asked for his majesty's orders. "Do not advertise it in an offensive manner," said the King; "but sell it by all means. I hope it will pay you well." Even among statesmen accustomed to the licence of a free press, such steadfastness 25 of mind as this is not very common.

It is due also to the memory of Frederic to say, that he earnestly laboured to secure to his people the great blessing of cheap and speedy justice. He was one of the first rulers who abolished the cruel and absurd practice of torture. No 30 sentence of death, pronounced by the ordinary tribunals, was executed without his sanction; and his sanction, except in cases of murder, was rarely given. Towards his troops he acted in a very different manner. Military offences were punished with such barbarous scourging, that to be shot was 35 considered by the Prussian soldier as a secondary punish-

ment. Indeed, the principle which pervaded Frederic's whole policy was this, that the more severely the army is governed, the safer it is to treat the rest of the community with lenity.

Religious persecution was unknown under his government, unless some foolish and unjust restrictions which lay upon the Jews may be regarded as forming an exception. His policy with respect to the Catholics of Silesia presented an honourable contrast to the policy which, under very similar circumstances, England long followed with respect to the Catholics of Ireland. Every form of religion and irreligion found an asylum in his states. The scoffer whom the parliaments of France had sentenced to a cruel death, was consoled by a commission in the Prussian service. The Jesuit who could show his face nowhere else, who in Britain was still subject to penal laws, who was proscribed by France, Spain, Portugal, and Naples, who had been given up even by the Vatican, found safety and the means of subsistence in the Prussian dominions.

Most of the vices of Frederic's administration resolve themselves into one vice, the spirit of meddling. The indefatigable activity of his intellect, his dictatorial temper, his military habits, all inclined him to this great fault. He drilled his people as he drilled his grenadiers. Capital and industry were diverted from their natural direction by a crowd of preposterous regulations. There was a monopoly of coffee, a monopoly of tobacco, a monopoly of refined sugar. The public money, of which the King was generally so sparing, was lavishly spent in ploughing bogs, in planting mulberry-trees amidst the sand, in bringing sheep from Spain to improve the Saxon wool, in bestowing prizes for fine yarn, in building manufactories of porcelain, manufactories of carpets, manufactories of hardware, manufactories of lace. Neither the experience of other rulers, nor his own, could ever teach him that something more than an edict and a grant of public money was required to create a Lyons, a Brussels, or a Birmingham.

For his commercial policy, however, there was some excuse. He had on his side illustrious examples and popular prejudice. Grievously as he erred, he erred in company with his age. In other departments his meddling was altogether without apology. He interfered with the 5 course of justice as well as with the course of trade ; and set up his own crude notions of equity against the law as expounded by the unanimous voice of the gravest magistrates. It never occurred to him that men whose lives were passed in adjudicating on questions of civil right, 10 were more likely to form correct opinions on such questions than a prince whose attention was divided among a thousand objects, and who had never read a law-book through. The resistance opposed to him by the tribunals inflamed him to fury. He reviled his Chancellor. He kicked the shins of 15 his Judges. He did not, it is true, intend to act unjustly. He firmly believed that he was doing right, and defending the cause of the poor against the wealthy. Yet this well-meant meddling probably did far more harm than all the explosions of his evil passions during the whole of his long 20 reign. We could make shift to live under a debauchee or a tyrant ; but to be ruled by a busybody is more than human nature can bear.

The same passion for directing and regulating appeared in every part of the King's policy. Every lad of a certain 25 station in life was forced to go to certain schools within the Prussian dominions. If a young Prussian repaired, though but for a few weeks, to Leyden or Gottingen for the purpose of study, the offence was punished with civil disabilities, and sometimes with the confiscation of property. Nobody 30 was to travel without the royal permission. If the permission were granted, the pocket-money of the tourist was fixed by royal ordinance. A merchant might take with him two hundred and fifty rixdollars in gold, a noble was allowed to take four hundred ; for it may be observed, in 35 passing, that Frederic studiously kept up the old distinc-

tion between the nobles and the community. In speculation he was a French philosopher, but in action a German prince. He talked and wrote about the privileges of blood in the style of Siêyes; but in practice no chapter in the empire  
5 looked with a keener eye to genealogies and quarterings.

Such was Frederic the Ruler. But there was another Frederic, the Frederic of Rheinsberg, the fiddler and flute-player, the poetaster and metaphysician. Amidst the cares of state the King had retained his passion for music, for  
10 reading, for writing, for literary society. To these amusements he devoted all the time that he could snatch from the business of war and government; and perhaps more light is thrown on his character by what passed during his hours of relaxation, than by his battles or his laws.

15 It was the just boast of Schiller that, in his country, no Augustus, no Lorenzo, had watched over the infancy of poetry. The rich and energetic language of Luther, driven by the Latin from the schools of pedants, and by the French from the palaces of kings, had taken refuge among  
20 the people. Of the powers of that language Frederic had no notion. He generally spoke of it, and of those who used it, with the contempt of ignorance. His library consisted of French books; at his table nothing was heard but French conversation. The associates of his hours of relax-  
25 ation were, for the most part, foreigners. Britain furnished to the royal circle two distinguished men, born in the highest rank, and driven by civil dissensions from the land to which, under happier circumstances, their talents and virtues might have been a source of strength and glory.  
30 George Keith, Earl Marischal of Scotland, had taken arms for the house of Stuart in 1715; and his younger brother James, then only seventeen years old, had fought gallantly by his side. When all was lost they retired together to the Continent, roved from country to country, served under  
35 various standards, and so bore themselves as to win the respect and good-will of many who had no love for the



Jacobite cause. Their long wanderings terminated at Potsdam ; nor had Frederic any associates who deserved or obtained so large a share of his esteem. They were not only accomplished men, but nobles and warriors, capable of serving him in war and diplomacy, as well as of amusing 5 him at supper. Alone of all his companions they appear never to have had reason to complain of his demeanour towards them. Some of those who knew the palace best, pronounced that Lord Marischal was the only human being whom Frederic ever really loved. 10

Italy sent to the parties at Potsdam the ingenious and amiable Algarotti, and Bastiani, the most crafty, cautious, and servile of Abbés. But the greater part of the society which Frederic had assembled round him was drawn from France. Maupertuis had acquired some celebrity by the 15 journey which he had made to Lapland, for the purpose of ascertaining, by actual measurement, the shape of our planet. He was placed in the Chair of the Academy of Berlin, a humble imitation of the renowned academy of Paris. Baculard D'Arnaud, a young poet, who was thought 20 to have given promise of great things, had been induced to quit his country, and to reside at the Prussian Court. The Marquess D'Argens was among the King's favourite companions, on account, as it should seem, of the strong opposition between their characters. The parts of D'Argens 25 were good, and his manners those of a finished French gentleman ; but his whole soul was dissolved in sloth, timidity, and self-indulgence. He was one of that abject class of minds which are superstitious without being religious. Hating Christianity with a rancour which made 30 him incapable of rational inquiry, unable to see in the harmony and beauty of the universe the traces of divine power and wisdom, he was the slave of dreams and omens, would not sit down to table with thirteen in company, turned pale if the salt fell towards him, begged his guests 35 not to cross their knives and forks on their plates, and

would not for a world commence a journey on Friday. His health was a subject of constant anxiety to him. Whenever his head ached, or his pulse beat quick, his dastardly fears and effeminate precautions were the jest of all Berlin. All this suited the King's purpose admirably. He wanted somebody by whom he might be amused, and whom he might despise. When he wished to pass half an hour in easy polished conversation, D'Argens was an excellent companion ; when wanted to vent his spleen and contempt, D'Argens was an excellent butt.

With these associates, and others of the same class, Frederic loved to spend the time which he could steal from public cares. He wished his supper parties to be gay and easy. He invited his guests to lay aside all restraint, and to forget that he was at the head of a hundred and sixty thousand soldiers, and was absolute master of the life and liberty of all who sat at meat with him. There was, therefore, at these parties the outward show of ease. The wit and learning of the company were ostentatiously displayed. The discussions on history and literature were often highly interesting. But the absurdity of all the religions known among men was the chief topic of conversation ; and the audacity with which doctrines and names venerated throughout Christendom were treated on these occasions, startled even persons accustomed to the society of French and English freethinkers. Real liberty, however, or real affection, was in this brilliant society not to be found. Absolute kings seldom have friends : and Frederic's faults were such as, even where perfect equality exists, make friendship exceedingly precarious. He had indeed many qualities, which, on a first acquaintance, were captivating. His conversation was lively ; his manners, to those whom he desired to please, were even caressing. No man could flatter with more delicacy. No man succeeded more completely in inspiring those who approached him with vague hopes of some great advantage from his kindness. But

under this fair exterior he was a tyrant, suspicious, disdainful, and malevolent. He had one taste which may be pardoned in a boy, but which, when habitually and deliberately indulged in by a man of mature age and strong understanding, is almost invariably the sign of a bad heart, 5 a taste for severe practical jokes. If a courtier was fond of dress, oil was flung over his richest suit. If he was fond of money, some prank was invented to make him disburse more than he could spare. If he was hypochondriacal, he was made to believe that he had the dropsy. If he had par- 10 ticularly set his heart on visiting a place, a letter was forged to frighten him from going thither. These things, it may be said, are trifles. They are so; but they are indications, not to be mistaken, of a nature to which the sight of human suffering and human degradation is an agreeable excitement. 15

Frederic had a keen eye for the foibles of others, and loved to communicate his discoveries. He had some talent for sarcasm, and considerable skill in detecting the sore places where sarcasm would be most acutely felt. His vanity, as well as his malignity, found gratification in the 20 vexation and confusion of those who smarted under his caustic jests. Yet in truth his success on these occasions belonged quite as much to the king as to the wit. We read that Commodus descended, sword in hand, into the arena against a wretched gladiator, armed only with a foil of lead, 25 and, after shedding the blood of the helpless victim, struck medals to commemorate the inglorious victory. The triumphs of Frederic in the war of repartee were of much the same kind. How to deal with him was the most puzzling of questions. To appear constrained in his 30 presence was to disobey his commands, and to spoil his amusement. Yet if his associates were enticed by his graciousness to indulge in the familiarity of a cordial intimacy, he was certain to make them repent of their presumption by some cruel humiliation. To resent his 35 affronts was perilous; yet not to resent them was to deserve

and to invite them. In his view, those who mutinied were insolent and ungrateful; those who submitted were curs made to receive bones and kickings with the same fawning patience. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive how any thing  
5 short of the rage of hunger should have induced men to bear the misery of being the associates of the Great King. It was no lucrative post. His majesty was as severe and economical in his friendships as in the other charges of his establishment, and as unlikely to give a rixdollar too much  
10 for his guests as for his dinners. The sum which he allowed to a poet or a philosopher was the very smallest sum for which such poet or philosopher could be induced to sell himself into slavery; and the bondsman might think himself fortunate, if what had been so grudgingly given was not,  
15 after years of suffering, rudely and arbitrarily withdrawn.

Potsdam was, in truth, what it was called by one of its most illustrious inmates, the Palace of Alcina. At the first glance it seemed to be a delightful spot, where every intellectual and physical enjoyment awaited the happy  
20 adventurer. Every new-comer was received with eager hospitality, intoxicated with flattery, encouraged to expect prosperity and greatness. It was in vain that a long succession of favourites who had entered that abode with delight and hope, and who, after a short term of delusive  
25 happiness, had been doomed to expiate their folly by years of wretchedness and degradation, raised their voices to warn the aspirant who approached the charmed threshold. Some had wisdom enough to discover the truth early, and spirit enough to fly without looking back; others lingered  
30 on to a cheerless and unhonoured old age. We have no hesitation in saying that the poorest author of that time in London, sleeping on a bulk, dining in a cellar, with a cravat of paper, and a skewer for a shirt-pin, was a happier man than any of the literary inmates of Frederic's court.

35 But of all who entered the enchanted garden in the inebriation of delight, and quitted it in agonies of rage and

shame, the most remarkable was Voltaire. Many circumstances had made him desirous of finding a home at a distance from his country. His fame had raised him up enemies. His sensibility gave them a formidable advantage over him. They were, indeed, contemptible assailants. 5 Of all that they wrote against him, nothing has survived except what he has himself preserved. But the constitution of his mind resembled the constitution of those bodies in which the slightest scratch of a bramble, or the bite of a gnat, never fails to fester. Though his reputation was 10 rather raised than lowered by the abuse of such writers as Fréron and Desfontaines, though the vengeance which he took on Fréron and Desfontaines was such, that scourging, branding, pillorying, would have been a trifle to it, there is reason to believe that they gave him far more pain than 15 he ever gave them. Though he enjoyed during his own lifetime the reputation of a classic, though he has extolled by his contemporaries above all poets, philosophers, and historians, though his works were read with as much delight and admiration at Moscow and Westminster, at Florence 20 and Stockholm, as at Paris itself, he was yet tormented by that restless jealousy which should seem to belong only to minds burning with the desire of fame, and yet conscious of impotence. To men of letters who could by no possibility be his rivals, he was, if they behaved well to him, not merely 25 just, not merely courteous, but often a hearty friend and a munificent benefactor. But to every writer who rose to a celebrity approaching his own, he became either a disguised or an avowed enemy. He silyly depreciated Montesquieu and Buffon. He publicly, and with violent outrage, made war on 30 Rousseau. Nor had he the art of hiding his feelings under the semblance of good humour or of contempt. With all his great talents, and all his long experience of the world, he had no more self-command than a petted child or a hysterical woman. Whenever he was mortified, he exhausted the 35 whole rhetoric of anger and sorrow to express his mortifi-

cation. His torrents of bitter words, his stamping and cursing, his grimaces and his tears of rage, were a rich food to those abject natures, whose delight is in the agony of powerful spirits and in the abasement of immortal nature. These creatures had now found out a way of galling him the very quick. In one walk, at least, it had been admitted by envy itself that he was without a living competitor. Since Racine had been laid among the great men whose names made the holy precinct of Port-Royal holier, no true poet had appeared who could contest the palm with the author of *Zaire*, of *Alzire*, and of *Merope*. At length a rival was announced. Old Crébillon, who, many years before had obtained some theatrical success, and who had long been forgotten, came forth from his garret in one of the narrow lanes near the Rue St. Antoine, and was welcomed by acclamations of envious men of letters, and of a capricious populace. A thing called *Catiline*, which he had written for his retirement, was acted with boundless applause. In this execrable piece it is sufficient to say, that the plot turns on a love affair, carried on in all the forms of Scudamore between *Catiline*, whose confidant is the Prætor *Lentu* and *Tullia*, the daughter of *Cicero*. The theatre resounded with acclamations. The king pensioned the successful poet, and the coffeehouses pronounced that Voltaire was a clever man, but that the real tragic inspiration, the celestial fire which had glowed in *Corneille* and *Racine*, was to be found in *Crébillon* alone.

The blow went to Voltaire's heart. Had his wisdom and fortitude been in proportion to the fertility of his intellect and to the brilliancy of his wit, he would have seen that he was out of the power of all the puffers and detractors of Europe to put *Catiline* above *Zaire*; but he had none of the magnanimous patience with which *Milton* and *Bentley* met their claims to the unerring judgment of time. He eagerly engaged in an undignified competition with *Crébillon*, and produced a series of plays on the same subjects which

rival had treated. These pieces were coolly received. Angry with the court, angry with the capital, Voltaire began to find pleasure in the prospect of exile. His attachment for Madame du Châtelet long prevented him from executing his purpose. Her death set him at liberty, and he determined 5 to take refuge at Berlin.

To Berlin he was invited by a series of letters, couched in terms of the most enthusiastic friendship and admiration. For once the rigid parsimony of Frederic seemed to have relaxed. Orders, honourable offices, a liberal pension, a well- 10 served table, stately apartments under a royal roof, were offered in return for the pleasure and honour which were expected from the society of the first wit of the age. A thousand louis were remitted for the charges of the journey. No ambassador setting out from Berlin for a court of the first 15 rank had ever been more amply supplied. But Voltaire was not satisfied. At a later period, when he possessed an ample fortune, he was one of the most liberal of men ; but till his means had become equal to his wishes, his greediness for lucre was unrestrained either by justice or by shame. He 20 had the effrontery to ask for a thousand louis more, in order to enable him to bring his niece, Madame Denis, the ugliest of coquettes, in his company. The indelicate rapacity of the poet produced its natural effect on the severe and frugal King. The answer was a dry refusal. "I did not," said his 25 Majesty, "solicit the honour of the lady's society." On this, Voltaire went off into a paroxysm of childish rage. "Was there ever such avarice ! He has hundreds of tubs full of dollars in his vaults, and haggles with me about a poor thousand louis." It seemed that the negotiation would 30 be broken off ; but Frederic, with great dexterity, affected indifference, and seemed inclined to transfer his idolatry to Baculard d'Arnaud. His Majesty even wrote some bad verses, of which the sense was, that Voltaire was a setting sun, and that Arnaud was rising. Good-natured friends 35 soon carried the lines to Voltaire. He was in his bed. He

jumped out in his shirt, danced about the room with rage and sent for his passport and his post-horses. It was not difficult to foresee the end of a connexion which had such a beginning.

- 5 It was in the year 1750 that Voltaire left the great capital which he was not to see again till, after the lapse of nearly thirty years, he returned, bowed down by extreme old age to die in the midst of a splendid and ghastly triumph. His reception in Prussia was such as might well have elated  
10 less vain and excitable mind. He wrote to his friends in Paris, that the kindness and the attention with which he had been welcomed surpassed description, that the King was the most amiable of men, that Potsdam was the paradise of philosophers. He was created chamberlain, and received  
15 together with his gold key, the cross of an order, and a patent ensuring to him a pension of eight hundred pounds sterling a year for life. A hundred and sixty pounds a year were promised to his niece if she survived him. The royal cooks and coachmen were put at his disposal. He was  
20 lodged in the same apartments in which Saxe had lived when, at the height of power and glory, he visited Prussia. Frederic, indeed, stooped for a time even to use the language of adulation. He pressed to his lips the meagre hand of the little grinning skeleton, whom he regarded as the dispenser  
25 of immortal renown. He would add, he said, to the titles which he owed to his ancestors and his sword, another title, derived from his last and proudest acquisition. His style should run thus:—Frederic, King of Prussia, Margrave of Brandenburg, Sovereign Duke of Silesia, Possessor of  
30 Voltaire. But even amidst the delights of the honeymoon Voltaire's sensitive vanity began to take alarm. A few days after his arrival, he could not help telling his niece that the amiable King had a trick of giving a sly scratch with one hand, while patting and stroking with the other. So  
35 came hints none the less alarming, because mysterious. "The supper parties are delicious. The King is the life



the company. But—I have operas and comedies, reviews and concerts, my studies and books. But—but—Berlin is fine, the princesses charming, the maids of honour handsome. But——”

This eccentric friendship was fast cooling. Never had 5 there met two persons so exquisitely fitted to plague each other. Each of them had exactly the fault of which the other was most impatient ; and they were, in different ways, the most impatient of mankind. Frederic was frugal, almost niggardly. When he had secured his plaything, he began to 10 think that he had bought it too dear. Voltaire, on the other hand, was greedy, even to the extent of impudence and knavery ; and conceived that the favourite of a monarch, who had barrels full of gold and silver laid up in cellars, ought to make a fortune which a receiver-general might 15 envy. They soon discovered each other's feelings. Both were angry ; and a war began, in which Frederic stooped to the part of Harpagon, and Voltaire to that of Scapin. It is humiliating to relate, that the great warrior and statesman gave orders that his guest's allowance of sugar and chocolate 20 should be curtailed. It is, if possible, a still more humiliating fact, that Voltaire indemnified himself by pocketing the wax-candles in the royal antechamber. Disputes about money, however, were not the most serious disputes of these extraordinary associates. The sarcasms of the King soon 25 galled the sensitive temper of the poet. D'Arnaud and D'Argens, Guichard and La Métrie, might, for the sake of a morsel of bread, be willing to bear the insolence of a master ; but Voltaire was of another order. He knew that he was a potentate as well as Frederic, that his European reputation, 30 and his incomparable power of covering whatever he hated with ridicule, made him an object of dread even to the leaders of armies and the rulers of nations. In truth, of all the intellectual weapons which have ever been wielded by man, the most terrible was the mockery of Voltaire. Bigots 35 and tyrants, who had never been moved by the wailing and

cursing of millions, turned pale at his name. Principles unassailable by reason, principles which had withstood the fiercest attacks of power, the most valuable truths, the most generous sentiments, the noblest and most graceful images, 5 the purest reputations, the most august institutions, began to look mean and loathsome as soon as that withering smile was turned upon them. To every opponent, however strong in his cause and his talents, in his station and his character, who ventured to encounter the great scoffer, might be 10 addressed the caution which was given of old to the Archangel :—

“I forewarn thee shun  
His deadly arrow ; neither vainly hope  
To be invulnerable in those bright arms,  
15 'Though temper'd heavenly; for that fatal dint,  
Save Him who reigns above, none can resist.”

We cannot pause to recount how often that rare talent was exercised against rivals worthy of esteem ; how often it was used to crush and torture enemies worthy only of silent 20 disdain ; how often it was perverted to the more noxious purpose of destroying the last solace of earthly misery, and the last restraint on earthly power. Neither can we pause to tell how often it was used to vindicate justice, humanity, and toleration, the principles of sound philosophy, the principles of free government. This is not the place for a full 25 character of Voltaire.

Causes of quarrel multiplied fast. Voltaire, who, partly from love of money, and partly from love of excitement, was always fond of stockjobbing, became implicated in trans- 30 actions of at least a dubious character. The King was delighted at having such an opportunity to humble his guest ; and bitter reproaches and complaints were exchanged. Voltaire, too, was soon at war with the other men of letters who surrounded the King ; and this irritated Frederic, who, 35 however, had himself chiefly to blame for, from that love of tormenting which was in him a ruling passion, he per-

actually lavished extravagant praises on small men and bad books, merely in order that he might enjoy the mortification and rage which on such occasions Voltaire took no pains to conceal. His majesty, however, soon had reason to regret the pains which he had taken to kindle jealousy among the members of his household. The whole palace was in ferment with literary intrigues and cabals. It was to no purpose that the imperial voice, which kept a hundred and sixty thousand soldiers in order, was raised to quiet the contention of the exasperated wits. It was far easier to stir up 10 such a storm than to lull it. Nor was Frederic, in his apacity of wit, by any means without his own share of vexations. He had sent a large quantity of verses to Voltaire, and requested that they might be returned, with remarks and corrections. "See," exclaimed Voltaire, "what 15 quantity of his dirty linen the King has sent me to wash!" Tale-bearers were not wanting to carry the sarcasm to the royal ear; and Frederic was as much incensed as a Grub street writer who had found his name in the Dunciad.

This could not last. A circumstance which, when the 20 mutual regard of the friends was in its first glow, would merely have been matter for laughter, produced a violent explosion. Maupertuis enjoyed as much of Frederic's goodwill as any man of letters. He was President of the Academy of Berlin; and he stood second to Voltaire, though at 25 an immense distance, in the literary society which had been assembled at the Prussian court. Frederic had, by playing for his own amusement on the feelings of the two jealous and vain-glorious Frenchmen, succeeded in producing a bitter enmity between them. Voltaire resolved to set his 30 mark, a mark never to be effaced, on the forehead of Maupertuis, and wrote the exquisitely ludicrous Diatribe of Doctor Akakia. He showed this little piece to Frederic, who had too much taste and too much malice not to relish such delicious pleasantry. In truth, even at this time of 35 lay, it is not easy for any person who has the least percep-

tion of the ridiculous to read the jokes on the Latin city, the Patagonians, and the hole to the centre of the earth, without laughing till he cries. But though Frederic was diverted by this charming pasquinade, he was unwilling that  
5 it should get abroad. His self-love was interested. He had selected Maupertuis to fill the chair of his Academy. If all Europe were taught to laugh at Maupertuis, would not the reputation of the Academy, would not even the dignity of its royal patron be in some degree compromised? The King,  
10 therefore, begged Voltaire to suppress this performance. Voltaire promised to do so, and broke his word. The Diatribe was published, and received with shouts of merriment and applause by all who could read the French language. The King stormed. Voltaire, with his usual  
15 disregard of truth, asserted his innocence, and made up some lie about a printer or an amanuensis. The King was not to be so imposed upon. He ordered the pamphlet to be burned by the common hangman, and insisted upon having an apology from Voltaire, couched in the most abject terms.  
20 Voltaire sent back to the King his cross, his key, and the patent of his pension. After this burst of rage, the strange pair began to be ashamed of their violence, and went through the forms of reconciliation. But the breach was irreparable; and Voltaire took his leave of Frederic for ever. They  
25 parted with cold civility; but their hearts were big with resentment. Voltaire had in his keeping a volume of the King's poetry, and forgot to return it. This was, we believe, merely one of the oversights which men setting out upon a journey often commit. That Voltaire could have meditated  
30 plagiarism is quite incredible. He would not, we are confident, for the half of Frederic's kingdom, have consented to father Frederic's verses. The King, however, who rated his own writings much above their value, and who was inclined to see all Voltaire's actions in the worst light, was enraged to  
35 think that his favourite compositions were in the hands of an enemy, as thievish as a daw and as mischievous as a

monkey. In the anger excited by this thought, he lost sight of reason and decency, and determined on committing an outrage at once odious and ridiculous.

Voltaire had reached Frankfort. His niece, Madame Denis, came thither to meet him. He conceived himself 5 secure from the power of his late master, when he was arrested by order of the Prussian resident. The precious volume was delivered up. But the Prussian agents had, no doubt, been instructed not to let Voltaire escape without some gross indignity. He was confined twelve days in a 10 wretched hovel. Sentinels with fixed bayonets kept guard over him. His niece was dragged through the mire by the soldiers. Sixteen hundred dollars were extorted from him by his insolent jailers. It is absurd to say that this outrage is not to be attributed to the King. Was any body punished 15 for it? Was any body called in question for it? Was it not consistent with Frederic's character? Was it not of a piece with his conduct on other similar occasions? Is it not notorious that he repeatedly gave private directions to his officers to pillage and demolish the houses of persons against 20 whom he had a grudge, charging them at the same time to take their measures in such a way that his name might not be compromised? He acted thus towards Count Bruhl in the Seven Years' War. Why should we believe that he would have been more scrupulous with regard to Voltaire? 25

When at length the illustrious prisoner regained his liberty, the prospect before him was but dreary. He was an exile both from the country of his birth and from the country of his adoption. The French government had taken offence at his journey to Prussia, and would not permit 30 him to return to Paris; and in the vicinity of Prussia it was not safe for him to remain.

He took refuge on the beautiful shores of Lake Leman. There, loosed from every tie which had hitherto restrained him, and having little to hope or to fear from courts and 35 churches, he began his long war against all that, whether

for good or evil, had authority over man ; for what Burke said of the Constituent Assembly, was eminently true of this its great forerunner :—Voltaire could not build : he could only pull down : he was the very Vitruvius of ruin.

5 He has bequeathed to us not a single doctrine to be called by his name, not a single addition to the stock of our positive knowledge. But no human teacher ever left behind him so vast and terrible a wreck of truths and falsehoods, of things noble and things base, of things useful and things pernicious.

10 From the time when his sojourn beneath the Alps commenced, the dramatist, the wit, the historian, was merged in a more important character. He was now the patriarch, the founder of a sect, the chief of a conspiracy, the prince of a wide intellectual commonwealth. He often

15 enjoyed a pleasure dear to the better part of his nature, the pleasure of vindicating innocence which had no other helper, of repairing cruel wrongs, of punishing tyranny in high places. He had also the satisfaction, not less acceptable to his ravenous vanity, of hearing terrified Capuchins

20 call him the Antichrist. But whether employed in works of benevolence, or in works of mischief, he never forgot Potsdam and Frankfort ; and he listened anxiously to every murmur which indicated that a tempest was gathering in Europe, and that his vengeance was at hand.

25 He soon had his wish. Maria Theresa had never for a moment forgotten the great wrong which she had received at the hand of Frederic. Young and delicate, just left an orphan, just about to be a mother, she had been compelled to fly from the ancient capital of her race ; she had seen her

30 fair inheritance dismembered by robbers, and of those robbers he had been the foremost. Without a pretext, without a provocation, in defiance of the most sacred engagements, he had attacked the helpless ally whom he was bound to defend. The Empress Queen had the faults as well as the

35 virtues which are connected with quick sensibility and a high spirit. There was no peril which she was not ready

to brave, no calamity which she was not ready to bring on her subjects, or on the whole human race, if only she might once taste the sweetness of a complete revenge. Revenge, too, presented itself to her narrow and superstitious mind in the guise of duty. Silesia had been wrested not only from 5 the House of Austria, but from the Church of Rome. The conqueror had indeed permitted his new subjects to worship God after their own fashion; but this was not enough. To bigotry it seemed an intolerable hardship that the Catholic Church, having long enjoyed ascendancy, 10 should be compelled to content itself with equality. Nor was this the only circumstance which led Maria Theresa to regard her enemy as the enemy of God. The profaneness of Frederic's writings and conversation, and the frightful rumours which were circulated respecting the immorality 15 of his private life, naturally shocked a woman who believed with the firmest faith all that her confessor told her, and who, though surrounded by temptations, though young and beautiful, though ardent in all her passions, though possessed of absolute power, had preserved her fame unsullied 20 even by the breath of slander.

To recover Silesia, to humble the dynasty of Hohen-zollern to the dust, was the great object of her life. She toiled during many years for this end, with zeal as indefatigable as that which the poet ascribes to the stately 25 goddess who tired out her immortal horses in the work of raising the nations against Troy, and who offered to give up to destruction her darling Sparta and Mycenæ, if only she might once see the smoke going up from the palace of Priam. With even such a spirit did the proud Austrian 30 Juno strive to array against her foe a coalition such as Europe had never seen. Nothing would content her but that the whole civilized world, from the White Sea to the Adriatic, from the Bay of Biscay to the pastures of the wild horses of the Tanais, should be combined in arms 35 against one petty state.

She early succeeded by various arts in obtaining the adhesion of Russia. An ample share of spoil was promised to the King of Poland ; and that prince, governed by his favourite, Count Bruhl, readily promised the assistance of  
5 the Saxon forces. The great difficulty was with France. That the Houses of Bourbon and of Hapsburg should ever cordially co-operate in any great scheme of European policy, had long been thought, to use the strong expression of Frederic, just as impossible as that fire and water should  
10 amalgamate. The whole history of the Continent, during two centuries and a half, had been the history of the mutual jealousies and enmities of France and Austria. Since the administration of Richelieu, above all, it had been considered as the plain policy of the Most Christian King to thwart on  
15 all occasions the Court of Vienna, and to protect every member of the Germanic body who stood up against the dictation of the Cæsars. Common sentiments of religion had been unable to mitigate this strong antipathy. The rulers of France, even while clothed in the Roman purple, even  
20 while persecuting the heretics of Rochelle and Auvergne, had still looked with favour on the Lutheran and Calvinistic princes who were struggling against the chief of the empire. If the French ministers paid any respect to the traditional rules handed down to them through many generations, they  
25 would have acted towards Frederic as the greatest of their predecessors acted towards Gustavus Adolphus. That there was deadly enmity between Prussia and Austria was of itself a sufficient reason for close friendship between Prussia and France. With France Frederic could never have any  
30 serious controversy. His territories were so situated that his ambition, greedy and unscrupulous as it was, could never impel him to attack her of his own accord. He was more than half a Frenchman : he wrote, spoke, read nothing but French : he delighted in French society : the admiration of  
35 the French he proposed to himself as the best reward of all his exploits. It seemed incredible that any French govern-



ment, however notorious for levity or stupidity, could spurn away such an ally.

The Court of Vienna, however, did not despair. The Austrian diplomatists propounded a new scheme of politics, which, it must be owned, was not altogether without plausibility. The great powers, according to this theory, had long been under a delusion. They had looked on each other as natural enemies, while in truth they were natural allies. A succession of cruel wars had devastated Europe, had thinned the population, had exhausted the public resources, had loaded governments with an immense burden of debt; and when, after two hundred years of murderous hostility or of hollow truce, the illustrious Houses whose enmity had distracted the world sat down to count their gains, to what did the real advantage on either side amount? Simply to this, that they had kept each other from thriving. It was not the King of France, it was not the Emperor, who had reaped the fruits of the Thirty Years' War, or of the War of the Pragmatic Sanction. Those fruits had been pilfered by states of the second and third rank, which, secured against jealousy by their insignificance, had dexterously aggrandized themselves while pretending to serve the animosity of the great chiefs of Christendom. While the lion and tiger were tearing each other, the jackal had run off into the jungle with the prey. The real gainer by the Thirty Years' War had been neither France nor Austria, but Sweden. The real gainer by the war of the Pragmatic Sanction had been neither France nor Austria, but the upstart of Brandenburg. France had made great efforts, had added largely to her military glory, and largely to her public burdens; and for what end? Merely that Frederic might rule Silesia. For this and this alone one French army, wasted by sword and famine, had perished in Bohemia; and another had purchased, with floods of the noblest blood, the barren glory of Fontenoy. And this prince, for whom France had suffered so, was he a grateful, was he even an honest ally? Had he

not been as false to the Court of Versailles as to the Court of Vienna? Had he not played, on a large scale, the same part which, in private life, is played by the vile agent of chicane who sets his neighbours quarrelling, involves  
5 them in costly and interminable litigation, and betrays them to each other all round, certain that, whoever may be ruined, he shall be enriched? Surely the true wisdom of the great powers was to attack, not each other, but this common barrator, who, by inflaming the passions of both, by pre-  
10 tending to serve both, and by deserting both, had raised himself above the station to which he was born. The great object of Austria was to regain Silesia; the great object of France was to obtain an accession of territory on the side of Flanders. If they took opposite sides, the result would  
15 probably be that, after a war of many years, after the slaughter of many thousands of brave men, after the waste of many millions of crowns, they would lay down their arms without having achieved either object; but, if they came to an understanding, there would be no risk, and no difficulty.  
20 Austria would willingly make in Belgium such cessions as France could not expect to obtain by ten pitched battles. Silesia would easily be annexed to the monarchy of which it had long been a part. The union of two such powerful governments would at once overawe the King of Prussia.  
25 If he resisted, one short campaign would settle his fate. France and Austria, long accustomed to rise from the game of war both losers, would, for the first time, both be gainers. There could be no room for jealousy between them. The power of both would be increased at once; the equilibrium  
30 between them would be preserved; and the only sufferer would be a mischievous and unprincipled bucanier, who deserved no tenderness from either.

These doctrines, attractive from their novelty and ingenuity, soon became fashionable at the supper-parties and  
35 in the coffeehouses of Paris, and were espoused by every gay marquis and every facetious abbé who was admitted to

see Madame de Pompadour's hair curled and powdered. It was not, however, to any political theory that the strange coalition between France and Austria owed its origin. The real motive which induced the great continental powers to forget their old animosities and their old state maxims, was 5 personal aversion to the King of Prussia. This feeling was strongest in Maria Theresa ; but it was by no means confined to her. Frederic, in some respects a good master, was emphatically a bad neighbour. That he was hard in all dealings, and quick to take all advantages, was not his most odious fault. His bitter and scoffing speech had inflicted keener wounds than his ambition. In his character of wit he was under less restraint than even in his character of ruler. Satirical verses against all the princes and ministers of Europe were ascribed to his pen. In his letters 15 and conversation he alluded to the greatest potentates of the age in terms which would have better suited Collé, in a war of repartee with young Crébillon at Pelletier's table, than a great sovereign speaking of great sovereigns. About women he was in the habit of expressing himself in a 20 manner which it was impossible for the meekest of women to forgive ; and, unfortunately for him, almost the whole Continent was then governed by women who were by no means conspicuous for meekness. Maria Theresa herself had not escaped his scurrilous jests. The Empress Elizabeth 25 of Russia knew that her gallantries afforded him a favourite theme for ribaldry and invective. Madame de Pompadour, who was really the head of the French government, had been even more keenly galled. She had attempted, by the most delicate flattery, to propitiate the King of Prussia ; 30 but her messages had drawn from him only dry and sarcastic replies. The Empress Queen took a very different course. Though the haughtiest of princesses, though the most austere of matrons, she forgot in her thirst for revenge both the dignity of her race and the purity of her charac- 35

concubine, who, having acquired influence by prostituting herself, retained it by prostituting others. Maria Theresa actually wrote with her own hand a note, full of expressions of esteem and friendship, to her dear cousin, the daughter of  
5 the butcher Poisson, the wife of the publican D'Etiolles, the kidnapper of young girls for the harem of an old rake, a strange cousin for the descendant of so many Emperors of the West ! The mistress was completely gained over, and easily carried her point with Lewis, who had, indeed, wrongs  
10 of his own to resent. His feelings were not quick ; but contempt, says the eastern proverb, pierces even through the shell of the tortoise ; and neither prudence nor decorum had ever restrained Frederic from expressing his measureless contempt for the sloth, the imbecility, and the baseness  
15 of Lewis. France was thus induced to join the coalition ; and the example of France determined the conduct of Sweden, then completely subject to French influence.

The enemies of Frederic were surely strong enough to attack him openly ; but they were desirous to add to all  
20 their other advantages the advantage of a surprise. He was not, however, a man to be taken off his guard. He had tools in every court ; and he now received from Vienna, from Dresden, and from Paris, accounts so circumstantial and so consistent, that he could not doubt of his danger. He  
25 learnt, that he was to be assailed at once by France, Austria, Russia, Saxony, Sweden, and the Germanic body ; that the greater part of his dominions was to be portioned out among his enemies ; that France, which from her geographical position could not directly share in his spoils,  
30 was to receive an equivalent in the Netherlands ; that Austria was to have Silesia, and the Czarina East Prussia ; that Augustus of Saxony expected Magdeburg ; and that Sweden would be rewarded with part of Pomerania. If these designs succeeded, the house of Brandenburg would at once  
35 sink in the European system to a place lower than that of the Duke of Wurtemberg or the Margrave of Baden.

And what hope was there that these designs would fail? No such union of the continental powers had been seen for ages. A less formidable confederacy had in a week conquered all the provinces of Venice, when Venice was at the height of power, wealth, and glory. A less formidable confederacy had compelled Lewis the Fourteenth to bow down his haughty head to the very earth. A less formidable confederacy has, within our own memory, subjugated a still mightier empire, and abased a still prouder name. Such odds had never been heard of in war. The people whom Frederic ruled were not five millions. The population of the countries which were leagued against him amounted to a hundred millions. The disproportion in wealth was at least equally great. Small communities, actuated by strong sentiments of patriotism or loyalty, have sometimes made head against great monarchies weakened by factions and discontents. But, small as was Frederic's kingdom, it probably contained a greater number of disaffected subjects than were to be found in all the states of his enemies. Silesia formed a fourth part of his dominions; and from the Silesians, born under Austrian princes, the utmost that he could expect was apathy. From the Silesian Catholics he could hardly expect any thing but resistance.

Some states have been enabled, by their geographical position, to defend themselves with advantage against immense force. The sea has repeatedly protected England against the fury of the whole continent. The Venetian government, driven from its possessions on the land, could still bid defiance to the confederates of Cambray from the Arsenal amidst the lagoons. More than one great and well-appointed army, which regarded the shepherds of Switzerland as an easy prey, has perished in the passes of the Alps. Frederic had no such advantage. The form of his states, their situation, the nature of the ground, all were against him. His long, scattered, straggling territory, seemed to

have been shaped with an express view to the convenience of invaders, and was protected by no sea, by no chain of hills. Scarcely any corner of it was a week's march from the territory of the enemy. The capital itself, in the event of war, would be constantly exposed to insult. In truth there was hardly a politician or a soldier in Europe who doubted that the conflict would be terminated in a very few days by the prostration of the house of Brandenburg.

Nor was Frederic's own opinion very different. He anticipated nothing short of his own ruin, and of the ruin of his family. Yet there was still a chance, a slender chance, of escape. His states had at least the advantage of a central position; his enemies were widely separated from each other, and could not conveniently unite their overwhelming forces on one point. They inhabited different climates, and it was probable that the season of the year which would be best suited to the military operations of one portion of the league, would be unfavourable to those of another portion. The Prussian monarchy, too, was free from some infirmities which were found in empires far more extensive and magnificent. Its effective strength for a desperate struggle was not to be measured merely by the number of square miles or the number of people. In that spare but well-knit and well-exercised body, there is nothing but sinew, and muscle, and bone. No public creditors looked for dividends. No distant colonies required defence. No court, filled with flatterers and mistresses, devoured the pay of fifty battalions. The Prussian army, though far inferior in number to the troops which were about to be opposed to it, was yet strong out of all proportion to the extent of the Prussian dominions. It was also admirably trained and admirably officered, accustomed to obey and accustomed to conquer. The revenue was not only unincumbered by debt, but exceeded the ordinary outlay in time of peace. Alone of all the European princes, Frederic had a treasure laid up for a day of difficulty. Above all, he was one, and his enemies were many. In their

camps would certainly be found the jealousy, the dissension, the slackness, inseparable from coalitions; on his side was the energy, the unity, the secrecy of a strong dictatorship. To a certain extent the deficiency of military means might be supplied by the resources of military art. Small as the 5 King's army was, when compared with the six hundred thousand men whom the confederates could bring into the field, celerity of movement might in some degree compensate for deficiency of bulk. It was thus just possible that genius, judgment, resolution, and good-luck united, might protract 10 the struggle during a campaign or two; and to gain even a month was of importance. It could not be long before the vices which are found in all extensive confederacies would begin to show themselves. Every member of the league would think his own share of the war too large, 15 and his own share of the spoils too small. Complaints and recriminations would abound. The Turk might stir on the Danube; the statesmen of France might discover the error which they had committed in abandoning the fundamental principles of their national policy. Above all, death might 20 rid Prussia of its most formidable enemies. The war was the effect of the personal aversion with which three or four sovereigns regarded Frederic; and the decease of any one of those sovereigns might produce a complete revolution in the state of Europe. 25

In the midst of a horizon generally dark and stormy, Frederic could discern one bright spot. The peace which had been concluded between England and France in 1748, had been in Europe no more than an armistice, and had not even been an armistice in the other quarters of the globe. 30 In India the sovereignty of the Carnatic was disputed between two great Mussulman houses; Fort Saint George had taken one side, Pondicherry the other; and in a series of battles and sieges the troops of Lawrence and Clive had been opposed to those of Dupleix. A struggle less important 35 in its consequences, but not less likely to produce irritation,

was carried on between those French and English adventurers, who kidnapped negroes and collected gold dust on the coast of Guinea. But it was in North America that the emulation and mutual aversion of the two nations were most  
5 conspicuous. The French attempted to hem in the English colonists by a chain of military posts, extending from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the Mississippi. The English took arms. The wild aboriginal tribes appeared on each side mingled with the Pale Faces. Battles were fought; forts  
10 were stormed; and hideous stories about stakes, scalplings, and death-songs reached Europe, and inflamed that national animosity which the rivalry of ages had produced. The disputes between France and England came to a crisis at the very time when the tempest which had been gathering was  
15 about to burst on Prussia. The tastes and interests of Frederic would have led him, if he had been allowed an option, to side with the house of Bourbon. But the folly of the Court of Versailles left him no choice. France became the tool of Austria; and Frederic was forced to become the  
20 ally of England. He could not, indeed, expect that a power which covered the sea with its fleets, and which had to make war at once on the Ohio and the Ganges, would be able to spare a large number of troops for operations in Germany. But England, though poor compared with the England of  
25 our time, was far richer than any country on the Continent. The amount of her revenue, and the resources which she found in her credit, though they may be thought small by a generation which has seen her raise a hundred and thirty millions in a single year, appeared miraculous to the poli-  
30 ticians of that age. A very moderate portion of her wealth, expended by an able and economical prince, in a country where prices were low, would be sufficient to equip and maintain a formidable army.

Such was the situation in which Frederic found himself.  
35 He saw the whole extent of his peril. He saw that there was still a faint possibility of escape; and, with prudent



temerity, he determined to strike the first blow. It was in the month of August 1756 that the great war of the Seven Years commenced. The King demanded of the Empress Queen a distinct explanation of her intentions, and plainly told her that he should consider a refusal as a declaration of war. "I want," he said, "no answer in the style of an oracle." He received an answer at once haughty and evasive. In an instant the rich electorate of Saxony was overflowed by sixty thousand Prussian troops. Augustus with his army occupied a strong position at Pirna. The Queen of Poland was at Dresden. In a few days Pirna was blockaded and Dresden was taken. The first object of Frederic was to obtain possession of the Saxon State Papers; for those papers, he well knew, contained ample proofs that, though apparently an aggressor, he was really acting in self-defence. The Queen of Poland, as well acquainted as Frederic with the importance of those documents, had packed them up, had concealed them in her bed-chamber, and was about to send them off to Warsaw, when a Prussian officer made his appearance. In the hope that no soldier would venture to outrage a lady, a queen, the daughter of an emperor, the mother-in-law of a dauphin, she placed herself before the trunk, and at length sat down on it. But all resistance was vain. The papers were carried to Frederic, who found in them, as he expected, abundant evidence of the designs of the coalition. The most important documents were instantly published, and the effect of the publication was great. It was clear that, of whatever sins the King of Prussia might formerly have been guilty, he was now the injured party, and had merely anticipated a blow intended to destroy him.

The Saxon camp at Pirna was in the mean time closely invested; but the besieged were not without hopes of succour. A great Austrian army under Marshal Brown was about to pour through the passes which separate Bohemia from Saxony. Frederic left at Pirna a force

sufficient to deal with the Saxons, hastened into Bohemia, encountered Brown at Lowositz, and defeated him. This battle decided the fate of Saxony. Augustus and his favourite Bruhl fled to Poland. The whole army of the  
5 electorate capitulated. From that time till the end of the war Frederic treated Saxony as a part of his dominions, or, rather, he acted towards the Saxons in a manner which may serve to illustrate the whole meaning of that tremendous sentence, "*subjectos tanquam suos, viles tanquam alienos.*"  
10 Saxony was as much in his power as Brandenburg; and he had no such interest in the welfare of Saxony as he had in the welfare of Brandenburg. He accordingly levied troops and exacted contributions throughout the enslaved province with far more rigour than in any part of his own  
15 dominions. Seventeen thousand men who had been in the camp at Pirna were half compelled, half persuaded to enlist under their conqueror. Thus, within a few weeks from the commencement of hostilities, one of the confederates had been disarmed, and his weapons were now pointed against  
20 the rest.

The winter put a stop to military operations. All had hitherto gone well. But the real tug of war was still to come. It was easy to foresee that the year 1757 would be a memorable era in the history of Europe.

25 The King's scheme for the campaign was simple, bold, and judicious. The Duke of Cumberland with an English and Hanoverian army was in Western Germany, and might be able to prevent the French troops from attacking Prussia. The Russians, confined by their snows, would probably not  
30 stir till the spring was far advanced. Saxony was prostrated. Sweden could do nothing very important. During a few months Frederic would have to deal with Austria alone. Even thus the odds were against him. But ability and courage have often triumphed against odds still more  
35 formidable.

\* Early in 1757 the Prussian army in Saxony began to move.

Through four defiles in the mountains they came pouring into Bohemia. Prague was the King's first mark ; but the ulterior object was probably Vienna. At Prague lay Marshal Brown with one great army. Daun, the most cautious and fortunate of the Austrian captains, was advancing with another. Frederic determined to overwhelm Brown before Daun should arrive. On the sixth of May was fought, under those walls which, a hundred and thirty years before, had witnessed the victory of the Catholic league and the flight of the unhappy Palatine, a battle more bloody than any 5 which Europe saw during the long interval between Malplaquet and Eylau. The King and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick were distinguished on that day by their valour and exertions. But the chief glory was with Schwerin. When the Prussian infantry wavered, the stout old marshal 15 snatched the colours from an ensign, and, waving them in the air, led back his regiment to the charge. Thus at seventy-two years of age he fell in the thickest battle, still grasping the standard which bears the black eagle on the field argent. The victory remained with the King ; but it 20 had been dearly purchased. Whole columns of his bravest warriors had fallen. He admitted that he had lost eighteen thousand men. Of the enemy, twenty-four thousand had been killed, wounded, or taken.

Part of the defeated army was shut up in Prague. Part 25 fled to join the troops which, under the command of Daun, were now close at hand. Frederic determined to play over the same game which had succeeded at Lowositz. He left a large force to besiege Prague, and at the head of thirty thousand men he marched against Daun. The cautious 30 Marshal, though he had a great superiority in numbers, would risk nothing. He occupied at Kolin a position almost impregnable, and awaited the attack of the King.

It was the eighteenth of June, a day which, if the Greek superstition still retained its influence, would be held sacred 35 to Nemesis, a day on which the two greatest princes of

modern times were taught, by a terrible experience, that neither skill nor valour can fix the inconstancy of fortune. The battle began before noon; and part of the Prussian army maintained the contest till after the midsummer sun  
5 had gone down. But at length the King found that his troops, having been repeatedly driven back with frightful carnage, could no longer be led to the charge. He was with difficulty persuaded to quit the field. The officers of his personal staff were under the necessity of expostulating with  
10 him, and one of them took the liberty to say, "Does your Majesty mean to storm the batteries alone?" Thirteen thousand of his bravest followers had perished. Nothing remained for him but to retreat in good order, to raise the siege of Prague, and to hurry his army by different  
15 routes out of Bohemia.

This stroke seemed to be final. Frederic's situation had at best been such, that only an uninterrupted run of good-luck could save him, as it seemed, from ruin. And now, almost in the outset of the contest, he had met with a check which,  
20 even in a war between equal powers, would have been felt as serious. He had owed much to the opinion which all Europe entertained of his army. Since his accession, his soldiers had in many successive battles been victorious over the Austrians. But the glory had departed from his arms.  
25 All whom his malevolent sarcasms had wounded, made haste to avenge themselves by scoffing at the scoffer. His soldiers had ceased to confide in his star. In every part of his camp his dispositions were severely criticised. Even in his own family he had detractors. His next brother William, heir-  
30 presumptive, or rather in truth heir-apparent, to the throne, and great grandfather of the present king, could not refrain from lamenting his own fate and that of the house of Hohenzollern, once so great and so prosperous, but now, by the rash ambition of its chief, made a by-word to all nations.  
35 These complaints, and some blunders which William committed during the retreat from Bohemia, called forth the

bitter displeasure of the inexorable King. The prince's heart was broken by the cutting reproaches of his brother; he quitted the army, retired to a country seat, and in a short time died of shame and vexation.

It seemed that the King's distress could hardly be increased. Yet at this moment another blow not less terrible than that of Kolin fell upon him. The French under Marshal D'Estrées had invaded Germany. The Duke of Cumberland had given them battle at Hastenbeck, and had been defeated. In order to save the Electorate of Hanover from entire subjugation, he had made, at Closter Seven, an arrangement with the French Generals, which left them at liberty to turn their arms against the Prussian dominions.

That nothing might be wanting to Frederic's distress, he lost his mother just at this time; and he appears to have felt the loss more than was to be expected from the hardness and severity of his character. In truth, his misfortunes had now cut to the quick. The mocker, the tyrant, the most rigorous, the most imperious, the most cynical of men, was very unhappy. His face was so haggard and his form so thin, that when on his return from Bohemia he passed through Leipsic, the people hardly knew him again. His sleep was broken; the tears, in spite of himself, often started into his eyes; and the grave began to present itself to his agitated mind as the best refuge from misery and dishonour. His resolution was fixed never to be taken alive, and never to make peace on condition of descending from his place among the powers of Europe. He saw nothing left for him except to die; and he deliberately chose his mode of death. He always carried about with him a sure and speedy poison in a small glass case; and to the few in whom he placed confidence, he made no mystery of his resolution.

But we should very imperfectly describe the state of Frederic's mind, if we left out of view the laughable peculiarities which contrasted so singularly with the gravity, energy, and harshness of his character. It is difficult to say

whether the tragic or the comic predominated in the strange scene which was then acting. In the midst of all the great King's calamities, his passion for writing indifferent poetry grew stronger and stronger. Enemies all round him, despair  
5 in his heart, pills of corrosive sublimate hidden in his clothes, he poured forth hundreds upon hundreds of lines, hateful to gods and men, the insipid dregs of Voltaire's Hippocrene, the faint echo of the lyre of Chaulieu. It is amusing to compare what he did during the last months of 1757, with  
10 what he wrote during the same time. It may be doubted whether any equal portion of the life of Hannibal, of Caesar, or of Napoleon, will bear a comparison with that short period, the most brilliant in the history of Prussia and of Frederic. Yet at this very time the scanty leisure of the  
15 illustrious warrior was employed in producing odes and epistles, a little better than Cibber's and a little worse than Hayley's. Here and there a manly sentiment which deserves to be in prose makes its appearance in company with Prometheus and Orpheus, Elysium and Acheron, the plaintive  
20 Philomel, the poppies of Morpheus, and all the other frippery which, like a robe tossed by a proud beauty to her waiting-woman, has long been contemptuously abandoned by genius to mediocrity. We hardly know any instance of the strength and weakness of human nature so striking, and so grotesque,  
25 as the character of this haughty, vigilant, resolute, sagacious blue-stocking, half Mithridates and half Trissotin, bearing up against a world in arms, with an ounce of poison in one pocket and a quire of bad verses in the other.

Frederic had some time before made advances towards a  
30 reconciliation with Voltaire; and some civil letters had passed between them. After the battle of Kolin their epistolary intercourse became, at least in seeming, friendly and confidential. We do not know any collection of Letters which throws so much light on the darkest and most intricate  
35 parts of human nature, as the correspondence of these strange beings after they had exchanged forgiveness. Both

felt that the quarrel had lowered them in the public estimation. They admired each other. They stood in need of each other. The great King wished to be handed down to posterity by the great Writer. The great Writer felt himself exalted by the homage of the great King. Yet the 5 wounds which they had inflicted on each other were too deep to be effaced, or even perfectly healed. Not only did the scars remain; the sore places often festered and bled afresh. The letters consisted for the most part of compliments, thanks, offers of service, assurances of attachment. But if 10 any thing brought back to Frederic's recollection the cunning and mischievous pranks by which Voltaire had provoked him, some expression of contempt and displeasure broke forth in the midst of eulogy. It was much worse when any thing recalled to the mind of Voltaire the outrages which he 15 and his kinswoman had suffered at Frankfort. All at once his flowing panegyric was turned into invective. "Remember how you behaved to me. For your sake I have lost the favour of my native king. For your sake I am an exile from my country. I loved you. I trusted myself to 20 you. I had no wish but to end my life in your service. And what was my reward? Stripped of all that you had bestowed on me, the key, the order, the pension, I was forced to fly from your territories. I was hunted as if I had been a deserter from your grenadiers. I was arrested, 25 insulted, plundered. My niece was dragged through the mud of Frankfort by your soldiers, as if she had been some wretched follower of your camp. You have great talents. You have good qualities. But you have one odious vice. You delight in the abasement of your fellow-creatures. You 30 have brought disgrace on the name of philosopher. You have given some colour to the slanders of the bigots, who say that no confidence can be placed in the justice or humanity of those who reject the Christian faith." Then the King answers, with less heat but equal severity—"You 35 know that you behaved shamefully in Prussia. It was well

for you that you had to deal with a man so indulgent to the infirmities of genius as I am. You richly deserve to see the inside of a dungeon. Your talents are not more widely known than your faithlessness and your malevolence. The  
5 grave itself is no asylum from your spite. Maupertuis is dead ; but you still go on calumniating and deriding him, as if you had not made him miserable enough while he was living. Let us have no more of this. And, above all, let me hear no more of your niece. I am sick to death of her  
10 name. I can bear with your faults for the sake of your merits ; but she has not written Mahomet or Merope."

An explosion of this kind, it might be supposed, would necessarily put an end to all amicable communication. But it was not so. After every outbreak of ill humour this  
15 extraordinary pair became more loving than before, and exchanged compliments and assurances of mutual regard with a wonderful air of sincerity.

It may well be supposed that men who wrote thus to each other, were not very guarded in what they said of each  
20 other. The English ambassador, Mitchell, who knew that the King of Prussia was constantly writing to Voltaire with the greatest freedom on the most important subjects, was amazed to hear his majesty designate this highly favoured correspondent as a bad-hearted fellow, the greatest rascal on  
25 the face of the earth. And the language which the poet held about the king was not much more respectful.

It would probably have puzzled Voltaire himself to say what was his real feeling towards Frederic. It was compounded of all sentiments, from enmity to friendship, and  
30 from scorn to admiration ; and the proportions in which these elements were mixed, changed every moment. The old patriarch resembled the spoiled child who screams, stamps, cuffs, laughs, kisses, and cuddles within one quarter of an hour. His resentment was not extinguished ; yet he  
35 was not without sympathy for his old friend. As a Frenchman, he wished success to the arms of his country. As a



philosopher, he was anxious for the stability of a throne on which a philosopher sat. He longed both to save and to humble Frederic. There was one way, and only one, in which all his conflicting feelings could at once be gratified. If Frederic were preserved by the interference of France, 5 if it were known that for that interference he was indebted to the mediation of Voltaire, this would indeed be delicious revenge; this would indeed be to heap coals of fire on that haughty head. Nor did the vain and restless poet think it impossible that he might, from his hermitage near the Alps, 10 dictate peace to Europe. D'Estrées had quitted Hanover, and the command of the French army had been intrusted to the Duke of Richelieu, a man whose chief distinction was derived from his success in gallantry. Richelieu was in truth the most eminent of that race of seducers by profession, 15 who furnished Crébillon the younger and La Clos with models for their heroes. In his earlier days the royal house itself had not been secure from his presumptuous love. He was believed to have carried his conquests into the family of Orleans; and some suspected that he was not unconcerned in 20 the mysterious remorse which embittered the last hours of the charming mother of Lewis the Fifteenth. But the Duke was now sixty years old. With a heart deeply corrupted by vice, a head long accustomed to think only on trifles, an impaired constitution, an impaired fortune, and, worst of all, 25 a very red nose, he was entering on a dull, frivolous, and unrespected old age. Without one qualification for military command, except that personal courage which was common between him and the whole nobility of France, he had been placed at the head of the army of Hanover; and in that 30 situation he did his best to repair, by extortion and corruption, the injury which he had done to his property, by a life of dissolute profusion.

The Duke of Richelieu to the end of his life hated the philosophers as a sect, not for those parts of their system 35 which a good and wise man would have condemned, but for

their virtues, for their spirit of free inquiry, and for their hatred of those social abuses of which he was himself the personification. But he, like many of those who thought with him, excepted Voltaire from the list of proscribed writers.

5 He frequently sent flattering letters to Ferney. He did the patriarch the honour to borrow money of him, and even carried this condescending friendship so far as to forget to pay the interest. Voltaire thought that it might be in his power to bring the Duke and the King of Prussia into  
10 communication with each other. He wrote earnestly to both ; and he so, far succeeded that a correspondence between them was commenced.

But it was to very different means that Frederic was to owe his deliverance. At the beginning of November, the  
15 net seemed to have closed completely round him. The Russians were in the field, and were spreading devastation through his eastern provinces. Silesia was overrun by the Austrians. A great French army was advancing from the west under the command of Marshal Soubise, a prince of the  
20 great Armorican house of Rohan. Berlin itself had been taken and plundered by the Croats. Such was the situation from which Frederic extricated himself, with dazzling glory, in the short space of thirty days.

He marched first against Soubise. On the fifth of November the armies met at Rosbach. The French were two to  
25 one ; but they were ill disciplined, and their general was a dunce. The tactics of Frederic, and the well-regulated valour of the Prussian troops, obtained a complete victory. Seven thousand of the invaders were made prisoners. Their  
30 guns, their colours, their baggage, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Those who escaped fled as confusedly as a mob scattered by cavalry. Victorious in the West, the King turned his arms towards Silesia. In that quarter every thing seemed to be lost. Breslau had fallen ; and Charles of  
35 Loraine, with a mighty power, held the whole province. On the fifth of December, exactly one month after the battle of

Rosbach, Frederic, with forty thousand men, and Prince Charles, at the head of not less than sixty thousand, met at Leuthen, hard by Breslau. The King, who was, in general, perhaps too much inclined to consider the common soldier as a mere machine, resorted, on this great day, 5 to means resembling those which Bonaparte afterwards employed with such signal success for the purpose of stimulating military enthusiasm. The principal officers were convoked. Frederic addressed them with great force and pathos; and directed them to speak to their men as he had 10 spoken to them. When the armies were set in battle array, the Prussian troops were in a state of fierce excitement; but their excitement showed itself after the fashion of a grave people. The columns advanced to the attack chanting, to the sound of drums and fifes, the rude hymns of the old 15 Saxon Sternholds. They had never fought so well; nor had the genius of their chief ever been so conspicuous. "That battle," said Napoleon, "was a masterpiece. Of itself it is sufficient to entitle Frederic to a place in the first rank among generals." The victory was complete. Twenty-seven 20 thousand Austrians were killed, wounded, or taken; fifty stand of colours, a hundred guns, four thousand waggons fell into the hands of the Prussians. Breslau opened its gates; Silesia was reconquered; Charles of Lorraine retired to hide his shame and sorrow at Brussels; and Frederic 25 allowed his troops to take some repose in winter quarters, after a campaign, to the vicissitudes of which it will be difficult to find any parallel in ancient or modern history.

The King's fame filled all the world. He had, during the last year, maintained a contest, on terms of advantage, 30 against three powers, the weakest of which had more than three times his resources. He had fought four great pitched battles against superior forces. Three of these battles he had gained; and the defeat of Kolin, repaired as it had been, rather raised than lowered his military renown. The 35 victory of Leuthen is, to this day, the proudest on the roll

of Prussian fame. Leipsic indeed, and Waterloo, produced consequences more important to mankind. But the glory of Leipsic must be shared by the Prussians with the Austrians and Russians; and at Waterloo the British  
5 infantry bore the burden and heat of the day. The victory of Rosbach was, in a military point of view, less honourable than that of Leuthen; for it was gained over an incapable general and a disorganized army; but the moral effect which it produced was immense. All the preceding triumphs of  
10 Frederic had been triumphs over Germans, and could excite no emotions of national pride among the German people. It was impossible that a Hessian or a Hanoverian could feel any patriotic exultation at hearing that Pomeranians had slaughtered Moravians, or that Saxon banners had been  
15 hung in the churches of Berlin. Indeed, though the military character of the Germans justly stood high throughout the world, they could boast of no great day which belonged to them as a people; of no Agincourt, of no Bannockburn. Most of their victories had been gained  
20 over each other; and their most splendid exploits against foreigners had been achieved under the command of Eugene, who was himself a foreigner. The news of the battle of Rosbach stirred the blood of the whole of the mighty population from the Alps to the Baltic, and from the  
25 borders of Courland to those of Lorraine. Westphalia and Lower Saxony had been deluged by a great host of strangers, whose speech was unintelligible, and whose petulant and licentious manners had excited the strongest feelings of disgust and hatred. That great host had been  
30 put to flight by a small band of German warriors, led by a prince of German blood on the side of father and mother, and marked by the fair hair and the clear blue eye of Germany. Never since the dissolution of the empire of Charlemagne, had the Teutonic race won such a field against  
35 the French. The tidings called forth a general burst of delight and pride from the whole of the great family which

spoke the various dialects of the ancient language of Arminius. The fame of Frederic began to supply, in some degree, the place of a common government and of a common capital. It became a rallying point for all true Germans, a subject of mutual congratulation to the Bavarian and the 5 Westphalian, to the citizen of Frankfort and the citizen of Nuremburg. Then first it was manifest that the Germans were truly a nation. Then first was discernible that patriotic spirit which, in 1813, achieved the great deliverance of central Europe, and which still guards, and long will 10 guard, against foreign ambition the old freedom of the Rhine.

Nor were the effects produced by that celebrated day merely political. The greatest masters of German poetry and eloquence have admitted that, though the great King 15 neither valued nor understood his native language, though he looked on France as the only seat of taste and philosophy, yet, in his own despite, he did much to emancipate the genius of his countrymen from the foreign yoke ; and that, in the act of vanquishing Soubise, he was, unintentionally, 20 rousing the spirit which soon began to question the literary precedence of Boileau and Voltaire. So strangely do events confound all the plans of man. A prince who read only French, who wrote only French, who aspired to rank as a French classic, became, quite unconsciously, the means of 25 liberating half the Continent from the dominion of that French criticism of which he was himself, to the end of his life, a slave. Yet even the enthusiasm of Germany in favour of Frederic hardly equalled the enthusiasm of England. The birth-day of our ally was celebrated with as much 30 enthusiasm as that of our own sovereign ; and at night the streets of London were in a blaze with illuminations. Portraits of the Hero of Rosbach, with his cocked hat and long pigtail, were in every house. An attentive observer will, at this day, find in the parlours of old-fashioned inns, 35 and in the portfolios of printsellers, twenty portraits of

Frederic for one of George II. The sign-painters were every where employed in touching up Admiral Vernon into the King of Prussia. This enthusiasm was strong among religious people, and especially among the Methodists, who 5 knew that the French and Austrians were Papists, and supposed Frederic to be the Joshua or Gideon of the Reformed Faith. One of Whitfield's hearers, on the day on which thanks for the battle of Leuthen were returned at the Tabernacle, made the following exquisitely ludicrous entry 10 in a diary, part of which has come down to us : "The Lord stirred up the King of Prussia and his soldiers to pray. They kept three fast days, and spent about an hour praying and singing psalms before they engaged the enemy. O ! how good it is to pray and fight !" Some young English- 15 men of rank proposed to visit Germany as volunteers, for the purpose of learning the art of war under the greatest of commanders. This last proof of British attachment and admiration, Frederic politely but firmly declined. His camp was no place for amateur students of military science. The 20 Prussian discipline was rigorous even to cruelty. The officers, while in the field, were expected to practise an abstemiousness and self-denial such as was hardly surpassed by the most rigid monastic orders. However noble their birth, however high their rank in the service, they were not 25 permitted to eat from any thing better than pewter. It was a high crime even in a count and field-marshal to have a single silver spoon among his baggage. Gay young Englishmen of twenty thousand a year, accustomed to liberty and to luxury, would not easily submit to these Spartan restraints. 30 The King could not venture to keep them in order as he kept his own subjects in order. Situated as he was with respect to England, he could not well imprison or shoot refractory Howards and Cavendishes. On the other hand, the example of a few fine gentlemen, attended by chariots 35 and livery servants, eating in plate, and drinking Champagne and Tokay, was enough to corrupt his whole army. He

thought it best to make a stand at first, and civilly refused to admit such dangerous companions among his troops.

The help of England was bestowed in a manner far more useful and more acceptable. An annual subsidy of near seven hundred thousand pounds enabled the King to add 5 probably more than fifty thousand men to his army. Pitt, now at the height of power and popularity, undertook the task of defending Western Germany against France, and asked Frederic only for the loan of a general. The general selected was Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who had 10 attained high distinction in the Prussian service. He was put at the head of an army, partly English, partly Hanoverian, partly composed of mercenaries hired from the petty princes of the empire. He soon vindicated the choice of the two allied courts, and proved himself the second general of 15 the age.

Frederic passed the winter at Breslau, in reading, writing, and preparing for the next campaign. The havoc which the war had made among his troops was rapidly repaired; and in the spring of 1758 he was again ready for the conflict. 20 Prince Ferdinand kept the French in check. The King in the mean time, after attempting against the Austrians some operations which led to no very important result, marched to encounter the Russians, who, slaying, burning, and wasting wherever they turned, had penetrated into the 25 heart of his realm. He gave them battle at Zorndorf, near Frankfort on the Oder. The fight was long and bloody. Quarter was neither given nor taken; for the Germans and Scythians regarded each other with bitter aversion, and the sight of the ravages committed by the half savage invaders 30 had incensed the King and his army. The Russians were overthrown with great slaughter; and for a few months no further danger was to be apprehended from the east.

A day of thanksgiving was proclaimed by the King, and was celebrated with pride and delight by his people. The 35 rejoicings in England were not less enthusiastic or less

sincere. This may be selected as the point of time at which the military glory of Frederic reached the zenith. In the short space of three quarters of a year he had won three great battles over the armies of three mighty and warlike monarchies, France, Austria, and Russia.

But it was decreed that the temper of that strong mind should be tried by both extremes of fortune in rapid succession. Close upon this series of triumphs came a series of disasters, such as would have blighted the fame and broken the heart of almost any other commander. Yet Frederic, in the midst of his calamities, was still an object of admiration to his subjects, his allies, and his enemies. Overwhelmed by adversity, sick of life, he still maintained the contest, greater in defeat, in flight, and in what seemed hopeless ruin, than on the fields of his proudest victories.

Having vanquished the Russians, he hastened into Saxony to oppose the troops of the Empress Queen, commanded by Daun, the most cautious, and Laudohn, the most inventive and enterprising of her generals. These two celebrated commanders agreed on a scheme, in which the prudence of the one and the vigour of the other seem to have been happily combined. At dead of night they surprised the King in his camp at Hochkirchen. His presence of mind saved his troops from destruction ; but nothing could save them from defeat and severe loss. Marshal Keith was among the slain. The first roar of the guns roused the noble exile from his rest, and he was instantly in the front of the battle. He received a dangerous wound, but refused to quit the field, and was in the act of rallying his broken troops, when an Austrian bullet terminated his chequered and eventful life.

The misfortune was serious. But of all generals Frederic understood best how to repair defeat, and Daun understood least how to improve victory. In a few days the Prussian army was as formidable as before the battle. The prospect was, however, gloomy. An Austrian army under General



Harsch had invaded Silesia, and invested the fortress of Neisse. Daun, after his success at Hochkirchen, had written to Harsch in very confident terms :—"Go on with your operations against Neisse. Be quite at ease as to the King. I will give a good account of him." In truth, the position of the Prussians was full of difficulties. Between them and Silesia lay the victorious army of Daun. It was not easy for them to reach Silesia at all. If they did reach it, they left Saxony exposed to the Austrians. But the vigour and activity of Frederic surmounted every obstacle. He made a circuitous march of extraordinary rapidity, passed Daun, hastened into Silesia, raised the siege of Neisse, and drove Harsch into Bohemia. Daun availed himself of the King's absence to attack Dresden. The Prussians defended it desperately. The inhabitants of that wealthy and polished capital begged in vain for mercy from the garrison within, and from the besiegers without. The beautiful suburbs were burned to the ground. It was clear that the town, if won at all, would be won street by street by the bayonet. At this conjuncture came news, that Frederic, having cleared Silesia of his enemies, was returning by forced marches into Saxony. Daun retired from before Dresden, and fell back into the Austrian territories. The King, over heaps of ruins, made his triumphant entry into the unhappy metropolis, which had so cruelly expiated the weak and perfidious policy of its sovereign. It was now the 20th of November. The cold weather suspended military operations ; and the King again took up his winter quarters at Breslau.

The third of the seven terrible years was over ; and Frederic still stood his ground. He had been recently tried by domestic as well as by military disasters. On the 14th of October, the day on which he was defeated at Hochkirchen, the day on the anniversary of which, forty-eight years later, a defeat far more tremendous laid the Prussian monarchy in the dust, died Wilhelmina, Margravine of Bareuth.

From the accounts which we have of her, by her own hand, and by the hands of the most discerning of her contemporaries, we should pronounce her to have been coarse, indelicate, and a good hater, but not destitute of  
5 kind and generous feelings. Her mind, naturally strong and observant, had been highly cultivated; and she was, and deserved to be, Frederic's favourite sister. He felt the loss as much as it was in his iron nature to feel the loss of any thing but a province or a battle.

10 At Breslau, during the winter, he was indefatigable in his poetical labours. The most spirited lines, perhaps, that he ever wrote, are to be found in a bitter lampoon on Lewis and Madame de Pompadour, which he composed at this time, and sent to Voltaire. The verses were, indeed,  
15 so good that Voltaire was afraid that he might himself be suspected of having written them, or at least of having corrected them; and partly from fright, partly, we fear, from love of mischief, sent them to the Duke of Choiseul, then prime minister of France. Choiseul very wisely  
20 determined to encounter Frederic at Frederic's own weapons, and applied for assistance to Palissot, who had some skill as a versifier, and some little talent for satire. Palissot produced some very stinging lines on the moral and literary character of Frederic, and these lines the Duke  
25 sent to Voltaire. This war of couplets, following close on the carnage of Zorndorf and the conflagration of Dresden, illustrates well the strangely compounded character of the King of Prussia.

At this moment he was assailed by a new enemy.  
30 Benedict XIV., the best and wisest of the two hundred and fifty successors of St. Peter, was no more. During the short interval between his reign and that of his disciple Ganganelli, the chief seat in the Church of Rome was filled by Rezzonico, who took the name of Clement XIII.  
35 This absurd priest determined to try what the weight of his authority could effect in favour of the orthodox Maria

Theresa against a heretic king. At the high mass on Christmas-day, a sword with a rich belt and scabbard, a hat of crimson velvet lined with ermine, and a dove of pearls, the mystic symbol of the Divine Comforter, were solemnly blessed by the supreme pontiff, and were sent 5 with great ceremony to Marshal Daun, the conqueror of Kolin and Hochkirchen. This mark of favour had more than once been bestowed by the Popes on the great champions of the faith. Similar honours had been paid, more than six centuries earlier, by Urban II. to Godfrey 10 of Bouillon. Similar honours had been conferred on Alba for destroying the liberties of the Low Countries, and on John Sobiesky after the deliverance of Vienna. But the presents which were received with profound reverence by the Baron of the Holy Sepulchre in the eleventh century, 15 and which had not wholly lost their value even in the seventeenth century, appeared inexpressibly ridiculous to a generation which read Montesquieu and Voltaire. Frederic wrote sarcastic verses on the gifts, the giver, and the receiver. But the public wanted no prompter, and an 20 universal roar of laughter from Petersburg to Lisbon reminded the Vatican that the age of crusades was over.

The fourth campaign, the most disastrous of all the campaigns of this fearful war, had now opened. The Austrians filled Saxony and menaced Berlin. The Russians defeated 25 the King's generals on the Oder, threatened Silesia, effected a junction with Laudohn, and intrenched themselves strongly at Kunersdorf. Frederic hastened to attack them. A great battle was fought. During the earlier part of the day every thing yielded to the impetuosity of the Prussians, and to the 30 skill of their chief. The lines were forced. Half the Russian guns were taken. The King sent off a courier to Berlin with two lines, announcing a complete victory. But, in the mean time, the stubborn Russians, defeated yet unbroken, had taken up their stand in an almost impregnable 35 position, on an eminence where the Jews of Frankfort were

went to bury their dead. Here the battle recommenced. The Prussian infantry, exhausted by six hours of hard fighting under a sun which equalled the tropical heat, were yet brought up repeatedly to the attack, but in vain. The King led three charges in person. Two horses were killed under him. The officers of his staff fell all round him. His coat was pierced by several bullets. All was in vain. His infantry was driven back with frightful slaughter. Terror began to spread fast from man to man. At that moment, the fiery cavalry of Laudohn, still fresh, rushed on the wavering ranks. Then followed an universal rout. Frederic himself was on the point of falling into the hands of the conquerors, and was with difficulty saved by a gallant officer, who, at the head of a handful of Hussars, made good a diversion of a few minutes. Shattered in body, shattered in mind, the King reached that night a village which the Cossacks had plundered; and there, in a ruined and deserted farm-house, flung himself on a heap of straw. He had sent to Berlin a second despatch very different from his first: "Let the royal family leave Berlin. Send the archives to Potsdam. The town may make terms with the enemy."

The defeat was, in truth, overwhelming. Of fifty thousand men who had that morning marched under the black eagles, not three thousand remained together. The King bethought him again of his corrosive sublimate, and wrote to bid adieu to his friends, and to give directions as to the measures to be taken in the event of his death:—"I have no resource left"—such is the language of one of his letters—"all is lost. I will not survive the ruin of my country. Farewell for ever."

But the mutual jealousies of the confederates prevented them from following up their victory. They lost a few days in loitering and squabbling; and a few days, improved by Frederic, were worth more than the years of other men. On the morning after the battle, he had got together eighteen thousand of his troops. Very soon his force amounted to

thirty thousand. Guns were procured from the neighbouring fortresses ; and there was again an army. Berlin was for the present safe ; but calamities came pouring on the King in uninterrupted succession. One of his generals, with a large body of troops, was taken at Maxen ; another was 5 defeated at Meissen ; and when at length the campaign of 1759 closed, in the midst of a rigorous winter, the situation of Prussia appeared desperate. The only consoling circumstance was, that, in the West, Ferdinand of Brunswick had been more fortunate than his master ; and by a series of 10 exploits, of which the battle of Minden was the most glorious, had removed all apprehension of danger on the side of France.

The fifth year was now about to commence. It seemed impossible that the Prussian territories, repeatedly de- 15 vastated by hundreds of thousands of invaders, could longer support the contest. But the King carried on war as no European power has ever carried on war, except the Committee of Public Safety during the great agony of the French Revolution. He governed his kingdom as he would have 20 governed a besieged town, not caring to what extent property was destroyed, or the pursuits of civil life suspended, so that he did but make head against the enemy. As long as there was a man left in Prussia, that man might carry a musket ; as long as there was a horse left, that horse might 25 draw artillery. The coin was debased, the civil functionaries were left unpaid ; in some provinces civil government altogether ceased to exist. But there were still rye-bread and potatoes ; there were still lead and gunpowder ; and, while the means of sustaining and destroying life 30 remained, Frederic was determined to fight it out to the very last.

The earlier part of the campaign of 1760 was unfavourable to him. Berlin was again occupied by the enemy. Great contributions were levied on the inhabitants, and 35 the royal palace was plundered. But at length, after two

years of calamity, victory came back to his arms. At Lignitz he gained a great battle over Laudohn; at Torgau, after a day of horrible carnage, he triumphed over Daun. The fifth year closed, and still the event was in suspense.

5 In the countries where the war had raged, the misery and exhaustion were more appalling than ever; but still there were left men and beasts, arms and food, and still Frederic fought on. In truth he had now been baited into savageness. His heart was ulcerated with hatred. The implacable  
10 resentment with which his enemies persecuted him, though originally provoked by his own unprincipled ambition, excited in him a thirst for vengeance which he did not even attempt to conceal. "It is hard," he says in one of his letters, "for man to bear what I bear. I begin to feel that,  
15 as the Italians say, revenge is a pleasure for the gods. My philosophy is worn out by suffering. I am no saint, like those of whom we read in the legends; and I will own that I should die content if only I could first inflict a portion of the misery which I endure."

20 Borne up by such feelings, he struggled with various success, but constant glory, through the campaign of 1761. On the whole, the result of this campaign was disastrous to Prussia. No great battle was gained by the enemy; but, in spite of the desperate bounds of the hunted tiger, the circle  
25 of pursuers was fast closing round him. Laudohn had surprised the important fortress of Schweidnitz. With that fortress, half of Silesia, and the command of the most important defiles through the mountains, had been transferred to the Austrians. The Russians had overpowered the  
30 King's generals in Pomerania. The country was so completely desolated that he began, by his own confession, to look round him with blank despair, unable to imagine where recruits, horses, or provisions were to be found.

Just at this time two great events brought on a complete  
35 change in the relations of almost all of the powers of Europe. One of those events was the retirement of Mr. Pitt from

office ; the other was the death of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia.

The retirement of Pitt seemed to be an omen of utter ruin to the House of Brandenburg. His proud and vehement nature was incapable of any thing that looked like either 5 fear or treachery. He had often declared that, while he was in power, England should never make a peace of Utrecht, should never, for any selfish object, abandon an ally even in the last extremity of distress. The Continental war was his own war. He had been bold enough, he who in former 10 times had attacked, with irresistible powers of oratory, the Hanoverian policy of Carteret, and the German subsidies of Newcastle, to declare that Hanover ought to be as dear to us as Hampshire, and that he would conquer America in Germany. He had fallen ; and the power which he had 15 exercised, not always with discretion, but always with vigour and genius, had devolved on a favourite who was the representative of the Tory party, of the party which had thwarted William, which had persecuted Marlborough, and which had given up the Catalans to the vengeance of Philip of Anjou. 20 To make peace with France, to shake off, with all, or more than all, the speed compatible with decency, every Continental connexion, these were among the chief objects of the new Minister. The policy then followed inspired Frederic with an unjust, but deep and bitter aversion to the English 25 name, and produced effects which are still felt throughout the civilized world. To that policy it was owing that, some years later, England could not find on the whole Continent a single ally to stand by her, in her extreme need, against the House of Bourbon. To that policy it was owing that 30 Frederic, alienated from England, was compelled to connect himself closely, during his later years, with Russia, and was induced to assist in that great crime, the fruitful parent of other great crimes, the first partition of Poland.

Scarcely had the retreat of Mr. Pitt deprived Prussia of 35 her only friend, when the death of Elizabeth produced an

entire revolution in the politics of the North. The Grand Duke Peter, her nephew, who now ascended the Russian throne, was not merely free from the prejudices which his aunt had entertained against Frederic, but was a worshipper, 5 a servile imitator of the great King. The days of the new Czar's government were few and evil, but sufficient to produce a change in the whole state of Christendom. He set the Prussian prisoners at liberty, fitted them out decently, and sent them back to their master ; he withdrew his troops 10 from the provinces which Elizabeth had decided on incorporating with her dominions ; and he absolved all those Prussian subjects, who had been compelled to swear fealty to Russia, from their engagements.

Not content with concluding peace on terms favourable to 15 Prussia, he solicited rank in the Prussian service, dressed himself in a Prussian uniform, wore the Black Eagle of Prussia on his breast, made preparations for visiting Prussia, in order to have an interview with the object of his idolatry, and actually sent fifteen thousand excellent troops to rein- 20 force the shattered army of Frederic. Thus strengthened, the King speedily repaired the losses of the preceding year, reconquered Silesia, defeated Daun at Buckersdorf, invested and retook Schweidnitz, and, at the close of the year, presented to the forces of Maria Theresa a front as formid- 25 able as before the great reverses of 1759. Before the end of the campaign, his friend the Emperor Peter, having by a series of absurd insults to the institutions, manners, and feelings of his people, united them in hostility to his person and government, was deposed and murdered. The Empress, 30 who, under the title of Catherine the Second, now assumed the supreme power, was, at the commencement of her administration, by no means partial to Frederic, and refused to permit her troops to remain under his command. But she observed the peace made by her husband ; and Prussia 35 was no longer threatened by danger from the East.

England and France at the same time paired off together.



They concluded a treaty, by which they bound themselves to observe neutrality with respect to the German war. Thus the coalitions on both sides were dissolved ; and the original enemies, Austria and Prussia, remained alone confronting each other.

5

Austria had undoubtedly far greater means than Prussia, and was less exhausted by hostilities; yet it seemed hardly possible that Austria could effect alone what she had in vain attempted to effect when supported by France on the one side, and by Russia on the other. Danger also began to 10 menace the Imperial house from another quarter. The Ottoman Porte held threatening language, and a hundred thousand Turks were mustered on the frontiers of Hungary. The proud and revengeful spirit of the Empress Queen at length gave way ; and, in February 1763, the peace of 15 Hubertsburg put an end to the conflict which had, during seven years, devastated Germany. The King ceded nothing. The whole continent in arms had proved unable to tear Silesia from that iron grasp.

The war was over. Frederic was safe. His glory was 20 beyond the reach of envy. If he had not made conquests as vast as those of Alexander, of Cæsar, and of Napoleon, if he had not, on fields of battle, enjoyed the constant success of Marlborough and Wellington, he had yet given an example unrivalled in history of what capacity and resolution can 25 effect against the greatest superiority of power and the utmost spite of fortune. He entered Berlin in triumph, after an absence of more than six years. The streets were brilliantly lighted up, and, as he passed along in an open carriage, with Ferdinand of Brunswick at his side, the 30 multitude saluted him with loud praises and blessings. He was moved by those marks of attachment, and repeatedly exclaimed, "Long live my dear people ! Long live my children !" Yet, even in the midst of that gay spectacle, he could not but perceive every where the traces of destruction 35 and decay. The city had been more than once plundered.

The population had considerably diminished. Berlin, however, had suffered little when compared with most parts of the kingdom. The ruin of private fortunes, the distress of all ranks, was such as might appal the firmest mind.

5 Almost every province had been the seat of war, and of war conducted with merciless ferocity. Clouds of Croatians had descended on Silesia. Tens of thousands of Cossacks had been let loose on Pomerania and Brandenburg. The mere contributions levied by the invaders amounted, it was said,

10 to more than a hundred millions of dollars ; and the value of what they extorted was probably much less than the value of what they destroyed. The fields lay uncultivated. The very seed-corn had been devoured in the madness of hunger. Famine, and contagious maladies produced by

15 famine, had swept away the herds and flocks ; and there was reason to fear that a great pestilence among the human race was likely to follow in the train of that tremendous war. Near fifteen thousand houses had been burned to the ground. The population of the kingdom had in seven

20 years decreased to the frightful extent of ten per cent. A sixth of the males capable of bearing arms had actually perished on the field of battle. In some districts, no labourers, except women, were seen in the fields at harvest-time. In others, the traveller passed shuddering through a

25 succession of silent villages, in which not a single inhabitant remained. The currency had been debased ; the authority of laws and magistrates had been suspended ; the whole social system was deranged. For, during that convulsive struggle, every thing that was not military violence was

30 anarchy. Even the army was disorganized. Some great generals, and a crowd of excellent officers, had fallen, and it had been impossible to supply their place. The difficulty of finding recruits had, towards the close of the war, been so great, that selection and rejection were impossible. Whole

35 battalions were composed of deserters or of prisoners. It was hardly to be hoped that thirty years of repose and

industry, would repair the ruin produced by seven years of havoc. One consoliatory circumstance, indeed, there was. No debt had been incurred. The burdens of the war had been terrible, almost insupportable ; but no arrear was left to embarrass the finances in time of peace. 5

Here, for the present, we must pause. We have accompanied Frederic to the close of his career as a warrior. Possibly, when these Memoirs are completed, we may resume the consideration of his character, and give some account of his domestic and foreign policy, and of his private habits, 10 during the many years of tranquillity which followed the Seven Years' War.

## NOTES.

**Page 1, l. 2. the author of Lochiel and Hohenlinden.** Thomas Campbell (1777-1844) received his education at Glasgow, where he distinguished himself in Greek; afterwards tutor. Repaired to Edinburgh, where he published *Pleasures of Hope*, 1799. In 1802, after a visit to the Continent, he published *Lochiel's Warning* and *Hohenlinden*, the latter one of the grandest battle pieces ever written. The next year he went to London and produced many works—poetical and historical—the best known of which are *Ye Mariners of England*, *Battle of the Baltic*, *Gertrude of Wyoming*, *The Last Man*. He died in 1844 and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

l. 3. **chaperon**, a guardian, one who looks after and protects the interest of another.

l. 4. **compilation**, i.e. a collection of extracts from various sources, not an entirely original work.

l. 7. **Seven Years' War**, A.D. 1756-1763. Cf. p. 18, Introduction.

l. 8. **most interesting portion**. Frederic the Great reigned from 1740-1786 A.D. Macaulay only deals with events up to 1763.

l. 17. **return to the subject**. Unfortunately for us this opportunity was not afforded to Macaulay.

l. 22. **beginning of the fifteenth century**. It was in 1415.

**Page 2, l. 1. marquisate**, the district ruled over by a marquis. Brandenburg is the central province of Prussia.

l. 2. **Hohenzollern**, a very old and noble family, taking their name from the Zollern Hill on which their castle originally stood, possessed a territory surrounded by Wurtemberg and Bavaria.

l. 3. **Lutheran doctrines**, the religion of Luther, the reformed or Protestant religion in apposition with the Roman Catholic belief. Most of the north of Germany adopted the teaching of Luther, while the south held to Roman Catholicism. This gave rise to the long and bloody 'Thirty Years' War.'

l. 5. **investiture**. This word usually means the ceremony of 'investing' or putting a man in possession of a certain office. It

here refers to the uniting of the Mark or Electorate of Brandenburg with the Duchy of Prussia in 1611. The united states shook off the suzerainty of Poland in 1657.

l. 10. **Potsdam**, a town on an island beside the lake-like Havel, 18 miles S.W. of Berlin. It is a handsome city and contains within its environs five or six palaces, of which the most famous is *Sans Souci* (= without care). It was before Frederic's time a mere village.

l. 14. **conquerors of the Roman empire**, the Goths who inhabited Germany. They defeated the Romans in many fights, and under Arminius destroyed the legions under Varus in A.D. 9, and it was their pressure on Rome that led to the abandonment of Britain. In 410 they captured and sacked Rome, and practically broke up the Roman empire.

l. 17. **insalubrity**, unhealthiness.

l. 21. **peace of Westphalia**, the end of the 'Thirty Years' War in 1648.

l. 22. **Magdeburg**, the capital of Prussian Saxony, 90 miles S.W. of Berlin on the Elbe. Founded by Charlemagne. Suffered much in the Thirty Years' War.

l. 36. **Nabob or a Commissary**. *Nabob* was a popular name formerly used with a touch of contempt for an Englishman who had made a fortune in India (often by questionable means) and returned to England to spend it. A *commissary* is an officer who is appointed to look after the stores and provisions of an army. In former times many were very dishonest. The terms mean here any wealthy upstart.

**Page 3, l. 3. class which Frederic quitted**, i.e. the marquises, dukes, electors, and other princes of the German empire.

l. 8. **Molière** (1622-1673), a French comic dramatist; wrote many comedies.

**Monsieur Jourdain** is a character in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, one of Molière's comedies, a man who becoming rich endeavours to become a gentleman and only succeeds in making himself the laughing-stock of the nobles with whom he wished to associate.

l. 9. **mummery**, an empty show. A man cannot be made a gentleman by any ceremony; the habits and manners which warrant the title are the result of education and long training.

l. 15. **eccentricities**, i.e. peculiarities; actions and manners not usually to be found in a man.

l. 21. **peace establishment**, a standing army in time of peace; in case of war it would be largely increased by reserves and recruits.

l. 24. **household regiments**, etc. His troops were as far superior to the Guards at the courts of France or England as the latter would be to recruits just commencing to learn drill. The house-

hold troops are generally considered the smartest in the service, e.g. the Life Guards, Scots Guards, Grenadier Guards.

l. 31. **parsimony** (Latin, *parco*, to spare), niggardliness, stinginess, miserliness.

l. 33. **Dutch burgomaster for tulips**. The soil of Holland is particularly suited for the cultivation of bulbs. In the seventeenth century there was a tulip mania in Holland, as much as 4600 florins being paid for a single bulb. A *burgomaster* is the master or mayor of a burgh or town.

l. 34. **Roxburghe Club**, a book club founded in 1813. Their meetings were at first largely convivial, but each member was supposed to print at his own expense as many copies of some rare work as there were members of the club. Their utility commenced when Sir Frederic Madden published *Havelok the Dane* in 1828. Being book lovers, they would naturally be anxious to possess one of those printed by Caxton, which are exceedingly rare.

l. 35. **squalid** (Lat. *squalidus*, rough, dirty), foul, filthy.

**Page 4**, l. 8. **bazaars**, an Eastern word meaning a collection of shops.

**Aleppo**, one of the chief trading centres of Syria.

**Cairo**, the capital of Egypt, on the Delta of the Nile.

**Surat**, on the Gulf of Cambay in India, at the mouth of the Tapti, one of the earliest settlements in India. An English factory or trading station was established there in 1612.

l. 9. **crimps**. A crimp is a man who decoys others into the military or naval service, often persuading them, while under the influence of drink, to sign articles for employment.

l. 16. **a much more valuable soldier**, because any man who is of abnormal stature is generally physically weak; a great height does not carry with it great strength, but rather the reverse.

l. 17. **brass Otho**. Otho was Roman Emperor for a short time in 69 A.D. Gold and silver coins bearing his name are fairly common, but no brass coins of the empire were issued; some few were struck in the provinces, and hence these are exceedingly rare.

l. 18. **Vinegar Bible**, an edition of the Bible issued by the Clarendon Press at Oxford in 1717, and so called because 'vinegar' is printed for 'vineyard' in the headline of *St. Luke* xxii.; of great value, because rare.

l. 31. **Patagonian**, i.e. gigantic. The Patagonians of the southern extremity of S. America are a particularly well-formed race, averaging 5 ft. 10 in. in height. Magellan who first visited them said that his men only came up to their waists. This is an exaggeration, but one which has been widely believed.

**Page 5, l. 10.** *Oliver Twist*, the title of, and chief character in, one of Dickens' novels, published 1838, and intended to expose the absurdities and iniquities of the working of the Poor Laws.

l. 11. **Smike**, a character in *Nicholas Nickleby*, another of Dickens' novels. Dotheboys Hall was a private school of a kind then only too common, where children were slowly starved and tortured to death.

l. 25. **execrable**, detestable, hateful, abominable.

l. 26. **Moloch** or Molech, a deity worshipped by the Assyrians with cruel rites and human sacrifices—frequently children. The worship was adopted by the Jews, some of whom made their children pass 'through the fire,' 2 *Chron.* xxiii. 6. The term is typical for everything brutal, ferocious, and cruel.

**Puck**, or Robin Goodfellow, was a sprite believed in by people in England in the Middle Ages. He was credited with playing merry and mischievous tricks—fun rather than injury being the object. Macaulay says that Frederic united both characters—ferocious and mischievous.

l. 30. **metaphysicians**. A metaphysician is one who studies metaphysics—the science of the first principles of being. An infidel believes nothing, a papist believes what his church tells him to, a metaphysician is a seeker after truth and often does not know what he believes.

l. 35. **backgammon**, a game played on a board with 15 pieces to each player. The moves were regulated by casting dice. To win a rubber is to win two games out of three.

**Page 6, l. 5.** **exquisite ear**, an ear which could detect the slightest deviation from strict harmony.

l. 7. **refugees**. A refugee is a person who flies from his own country to take refuge in another. It was refugees from the Netherlands who introduced cloth-weaving into England, and refugees from France who taught us silk-spinning and weaving.

l. 9. **effeminate**, *i.e.* womanish (Lat. *femina*, a woman).

l. 11. **that time of life**, at the age of 15 to 17, when a boy becomes a man. The mind rapidly develops, and a greater sense of individualism and responsibility is experienced.

l. 18. **Lord Keeper Coventry** (1574-1640). Solicitor-General in England in 1616, Attorney-General in 1620, and Lord Keeper in 1625.

l. 21. **turpitude** (Lat. *turpitude*, baseness), foulness, depravity, vileness. Anything particularly disgraceful and degraded.

l. 30. **heretic**, one who adopts and promulgates religious views contrary to those held by the church to which he belongs.

l. 31. **Calvinist**, a follower of the teaching of Calvin (1509-

1564), one of the reformers, who propounded the gloomy faith of Predestination.

1. 31. **Atheist.** An atheist (Gk. *a*, without, *theos*, a God) is one who disbelieves in the existence of a God.

1. 33. **malignity**, malevolence, enmity, malice without cause.

**Page 7, l. 11. Mrs. Brownrigg's apprentices.** Mrs. Brownrigg was executed at Tyburn in 1767 for illtreating and murdering her apprentices.

1. 19. **accomplice of the Prince**, Lieutenant Katte, a well educated young man of good family, but a freethinker and dissolute in his habits.

1. 23. **States of Holland.** Holland was at this time a Republic.

1. 32. **Henriade**, one of Voltaire's works—*La Ligue, ou Henri le Grand*—which gave offence to the French monarch—afterwards dedicated to Queen Charlotte.

**Page 8, l. 5. a wife**, Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel, to whom, in later years, he rarely spoke and only occasionally visited.

1. 8. **Prince Eugene** (1663-1736), Prince Eugene of Savoy, though French by birth, left that country through the action of the French king and took service under the Emperor Leopold. He served with distinction against the Turks, whom he defeated with terrible slaughter at Zenta in 1697. He helped Marlborough in his campaigns and shared with him the glories of Blenheim, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. Later he besieged and captured Belgrade.

1. 23. **alley** (Fr. *aller*, to go), a walk in a garden. Sometimes applied to a narrow passage or street.

**maze**, a labyrinth—an intricacy of winding paths and passages in a garden. There is a famous maze at Hampton Court.

1. 24. **obelisk**, a stone monument or 'needle,' such as Cleopatra's Needle on the Embankment in London. The largest obelisk is the one to George Washington in Washington, which is 55 feet square at the base and 555 feet high.

1. 27. **extraction**, i.e. by descent.

1. 30. **chapter**, a meeting or council of an organized body. The business of a Cathedral is generally conducted by a 'Dean and Chapter.'

1. 34. **Lewis XIV.**—more commonly called *Louis*—born 1638 and succeeded to the throne in 1643. During his minority France was governed by Queen Anne of Austria and Cardinal Mazarin. On the death of the latter in 1661 he assumed the reins of government, and immediately showed a determination and will which was not expected from his training. He made himself an



absolute monarch, acting on his own saying, '*L'état, c'est moi*' (I am the state). He built Versailles, was a patron of all arts and sciences, and in 1684 was at the zenith of his power—the most powerful monarch in Europe. The war of the Spanish Succession and Marlborough's victories, however, crippled his resources.

**Page 9, l. 4. Racine** (1639-1699), the great French tragic dramatist of Louis' court; author of many dramas, the best known being *Iphigénie*, *Phèdre*, *Esther*, and *Athalie*.

**Molière.** See p. 3, l. 8.

**Massillon** (1663-1743), Bishop of Clermont, a divine of great learning and eloquence, one of the 'preachers' just mentioned.

**l. 5. Dante** (1265-1321), a great Italian poet who wrote the *Divina Commedia*, a long poem describing visits to Hell ('Inferno'), Purgatory ('Purgatorio'), and Heaven ('Paradiso'). His poetry is sublime and exquisite, showing consummate power and eloquence of language.

**Cervantes** (1547-1616), a Spanish writer who produced over 20 plays. He is known principally for his charming satire *Don Quixote*. The adventures of the half-crazed knight and his faithful squire Sancho Panza are read with delight in every civilized country.

**l. 12. politeness, i.e. polish.**

**l. 21. the Golden Bull**, a bull or edict with a golden seal issued by the Emperor Charles IV. at the Diet of Nuremberg, 1356, which became the fundamental law for the administration of the Empire.

**l. 31. Ciceronian.** Cicero was the most eloquent of Roman orators. His speeches are still read as models of rhetoric. The word is used sarcastically here, as the phrases quoted contain mistakes for which a school-boy would be punished. *Stante pede morire*, To die boldly, should be *Stante pede mori*; *De gustibus non est disputandum*, There is no accounting for tastes, should be *De gustibus non est disputandum*; *Tot verbas tot spondera*, As many words, so many promises, should be *Tot verba tot spondera*.

**l. 34. Metastasio**, Pietro Trapassi, an Italian poet who lived from 1698 to 1782.

**Page 10, l. 7. rhetoric**, the art of oratory, speaking or writing with propriety, elegance and force.

**l. 9. hack**, a writer who hires himself out for any kind of literary work—a literary drudge.

**Cave**, Edward Cave (1691-1754), printer and publisher, the founder and proprietor of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, a friend of Dr. Samuel Johnson.

**Osborn**, John (died 1787), a bookseller who started business

in 1729. A somewhat ignorant and insolent man, who charged too much for his books and paid their authors too little. He had serious quarrels with Pope and Johnson—the latter, indeed, giving him a thrashing.

l. 12. **those higher and rarer gifts.** As the old proverb says, '*Poeta nascitur, non fit*,' a poet is born, not made. The ability to write excellent poetry is innate and cannot be acquired by practice or the study of rules.

l. 23. **grenadiers**, soldiers who advanced before the ordinary infantry, armed with *grenades*, which were thrown at the enemy and exploded on striking any object. Hence they were selected men of more than ordinary strength. Their special work is now obsolete, but the name survives, *e.g.* Grenadier Guards.

l. 26. **Racine.** See note on p. 9, l. 5.

l. 33. **solecisms**, improprieties of expression, mistakes arising from ignorance. The inhabitants of Soloi in Cilicia spoke Greek so inaccurately that they were the laughing stock of the Athenians. (Gk. *Solikos*, like an inhabitant of Soloi.)

**Page 11, l. 15.** **Newdigate**, a prize awarded at the University of Oxford for the best poem, founded by Sir R. Newdigate (1719-1806), and won by Heber, Milman, Ruskin, M. Arnold, and E. Arnold among others.

**Seatonian**, a prize founded at Cambridge by Rev. Thomas Seaton (1684-1741) for the best English poem on a sacred subject.

l. 16. **Doddsley's collection**, author and publisher (1703-1764). He published *A Collection of Old Plays*, and the work here referred to—*Poems by Several Hands* (1748). An honest, able, and amiable man.

l. 28. **profound veneration**, *i.e.* the deepest respect.

l. 29. **Voltaire**, François Mari Arouet, was born November 24, 1694, at Paris. He was destined for the Bar, but early showed his preference for literature. After a short experience of diplomatic service he returned to Paris in disgrace. He was imprisoned in the Bastille for a work supposed to reflect on the French Government, and on his liberation in 1718 added '*de Voltaire*' to his name. His drama, *Oedipe*, was produced in 1718, and in 1723 he published *La Ligue, ou Henri le Grand*. In 1726, owing to a quarrel with a member of the noble house of Rohan, he came to England. Here the *Henriade* was republished and dedicated to the Queen. In 1729 he returned to France, the fruits of his exile being *The Life of Charles XII.* and *Letters on the English*. He made money by skilful investments in a lottery. Soon after he produced the dramas *Merope* and *Mahomet*. In 1736 he received his first letter from Frederic, and in 1750 he visited Berlin. Three years later he quarrelled with the king and quitting Berlin settled first at '*Les Delices*,' and afterwards at Ferney (1758) on

the Lake of Geneva. Here he wrote *Les Mœurs et l'Esprit des Nations* and *Candide*. In 1762 he commenced his attacks on the Christian Faith, which had an enormous influence on French minds, and helped forward to a great degree the Revolution. In 1778 he visited Paris, and the excitement of his reception caused his death. As Macaulay points out (see p. 50), his sarcasm and sneers blasted and withered everything which he attacked. Byron sums him up thus :

"The one was fire and fickleness, a child  
Most mutable in wishes, but in mind  
A wit as various—gay, grave, sage, or wild  
He multiplied himself among mankind  
The Proteus of their talents : but his own  
Breathed most in ridicule,—which, as the wind,  
Blew where it listed, laying all things prone,  
Now to o'erthrow a fool and now to shake a throne."

l. 30. Calderon, Spain's greatest dramatist (1600-1681).

l. 34. Homer, 'The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle,' the greatest of all epic poets, who wrote the *Iliad*, describing the siege of Troy, and the *Odyssey*, detailing the subsequent wanderings of Ulysses.

l. 35. Virgil, the greatest of Latin epic poets ; wrote the *Aeneid*—the journeys of Aeneas to Italy and the foundation of Rome.

Tasso, Torquato Tasso (1544-1595), an Italian poet who wrote a splendid epic poem *Gerusalemme Liberata* (The deliverance of Jerusalem.)

Page 12, l. 2. Sophocles, a great Greek dramatist.

l. 3. Zaire, one of Voltaire's dramas.

l. 4. Thucydides, Thucydides was the greatest of Greek historians, as Tacitus was of Roman writers.

l. 12. See note on Voltaire above.

l. 19. Grotius (1583-1645), a Dutch scholar, a profound theologian, historian, and jurist.

l. 20. Tillotson (1630-1694), Archbishop of Canterbury, 1691-1694, an earnest Christian, who avoided dogmatic and doctrinal difficulties, and was singularly meek and tolerant.

l. 28. dissimulation. To *simulate* is to pretend to be what one is not ; to *dissimulate* is to pretend not to be what one really is.

l. 35. stimulating (Lat. *stimulus*, a spur), increasing the desire for more.

Page 13, l. 3. amber, a yellowish translucent substance, the fossilized resin of an extinct pine tree. It is found mainly along the shores of the Baltic in pieces sometimes as large as a man's head. Used for beads, pipe stems, cigar holders, etc.

l. 6. **Bossuet** (1627-1704), a great divine and voluminous writer of the Court of Louis XIV. He, however, lacked the courage of Bourdaloue and the persuasive eloquence of Massillon.

l. 7. **Machiavelli** (1469-1527), a Florentine writer and statesman, for some years Secretary of State. He was exiled by the Medici, but afterwards allowed to return. The work by which he is best known is *Il Principe* ('The Prince'), a treatise on government, advising what seems to us an unbearable and cruel tyranny—advice which Frederic, consciously or unconsciously, afterwards adopted to a considerable extent.

l. 26. **Epicurean**, i.e. devoted to pleasure. Epicurus was the founder of one of the great Greek schools of philosophy. His followers degraded his teaching into meaning a mere pursuit of pleasure.

l. 29. **voluptuary** (Lat. *voluptas*, pleasure), one who seeks his own pleasure and ease.

l. 33. **Telemachus**, in Greek mythology, the son of Ulysses, who went in search of his father, but did not find him until he returned home. He helped Ulysses to clear his house of the undesirable guests collected there.

**Fénélon**, French divine and author (1651-1715). Wrote *Les Aventures de Télémaque*.

l. 34. **Medicean**. The Medici were the reigning family of the Duchy of Florence—a race distinguished for many and various virtues and vices. Under Lorenzo the Magnificent (1448-92), Florence was the intellectual capital of Italy. "To enlarge upon the institutions, universities, schools founded by him, and on the famous names of painters, sculptors, architects, philosophers, and poets who surrounded him would be to write the history of the Renaissance."

**Page 14.** l. 4. **Falstaff**, the dissolute, yet in some ways attractive, old reprobate who was the companion of Henry V. before his accession, and who anticipated that when that event occurred his fortune would be made. He was bitterly disappointed, for Henry promptly dropped his former undesirable associates. Falstaff died soon after, "babbling o' green fields." He is the central character in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and a prominent one in *Henry IV*.

l. 20. Many of the better of these qualities are to be found in the descendant of Frederic, who is now King of Prussia and German Emperor.

l. 29. **monomania**, a madness on one particular point, or in one habit.

l. 34. **rixdollars**. A rixdollar or reichsthaler (= a thaler of the empire) was a German silver coin of the value of three shillings.

Previous to 1871 it was the unit of money in Germany ; now, of course, it is the *mark*.

1. 35. **malevolent** (Lat. *male*, ill ; *volentis*, wishing), wishing another person ill ; the opposite to *benevolent*.

**Page 15, l. 12. M. Thiébauld**, Professor of Grammar at the military school which Frederic founded. He has left many tales about Frederic, which, according to Carlyle, are 'always unreliable and inaccurate.'

1. 24. **the many crowns**. He was King of Hungary, of Bohemia, and Archduke of Austria.

1. 27. **Pragmatic Sanction**, a solemn ordinance or decree issued by a sovereign. "Pragmatic Sanction being the received title for ordinances of a very irrevocable nature, which a sovereign makes in affairs that belong wholly to himself, or what he reckons his own rights."—Carlyle.

1. 28. **Maria Theresa**, daughter of Emperor Charles VI. (1717-1780), married in 1736 Francis of Lorraine, and in 1740, on the death of her father, became Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and Archduchess of Austria ; carried on the war against Frederic and against the Elector of Bavaria, who claimed the empire, and was supported by France. By the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle she had to cede Silesia and Glatz to Prussia. She afterwards took part in the partition of Poland. She was a woman of fine presence, great ability, and high moral character. Succeeded by her son, Joseph II.

1. 32. **cabinet**, *i.e.* the leading ministers of a country.

**Page 16, l. 4. Germanic body**, *i.e.* the German-speaking states. See Introduction.

1. 8. **stipulations**, agreements, bargains, contracts.

1. 17. **equilibrium**, the general peace of Europe ; the balance of power.

1. 18. The provinces belonging to Austria for years would probably be taken by other powers.

1. 27. **chivalrous**. One of the best features of chivalry was the obligation it imposed upon every gentleman to honour and respect a woman. Though sometimes carried to ridiculous excesses, this feeling did much to alleviate the disadvantages which women then suffered, and to moderate the violent passions called forth by the continual fighting of the Dark Ages.

1. 29. **deportment** (Lat. *porto*, I carry), lit. her manner of carrying herself ; her general manner and behaviour.

**Page 17, l. 16. gazettes**, a term by which newspapers were then generally known. Published originally during the war between Venice and the Turks, they contained news of military

operations, and were sold for a *gazetta*, a Venetian coin ; hence the name.

1. 18. **apprised**, informed.

1. 20. **pleas**, arguments, reasons.

1. 25. **Court of Vienna**, the Austrian Government.

to waive, to renounce, put on one side.

**Page 18**, l. 5. **legal maxim**, a statement often used and recognized as correct in law.

**litigation**, law suit, trials to recover or obtain possession.

1. 9. **Badajos**, a town in Spain, besieged and captured by Wellington in 1812, after a long and bloody resistance.

1. 10. **St. Sebastian**, a strong fortress in Spain, on the Bay of Biscay, at the foot of the Pyrenees ; captured from the French in 1813 during the Peninsular War.

**Eylau**, a town 23 miles south of Königsberg, the scene of one of Napoleon's victories in 1807.

1. 11. **Borodino**, a town 70 miles west of Moscow, on a tributary of the Moskwa. The Russians made a desperate stand here when Napoleon invaded Russia in 1812. Between 70,000 and 80,000 were killed or wounded.

**transfer of Norway from Denmark**. This occurred in 1814, and was carried on against the wishes of a majority of the people.

1. 15. **The king of Holland**, etc. Owing to misgovernment and oppression of Belgium by the States of Holland, the people rose in insurrection in 1831, and their independence was shortly afterwards recognized by the Great Powers.

1. 23. See p. 7, l. 24.

1. 27. **manifestoes**, public declarations or statements.

1. 36. **envoy**, an ambassador, a statesman sent to reside in a foreign country, to look after and protect the interests of his country. His applying for a passport allowing him to leave, or his reception of orders to leave, is generally received as a declaration of war.

**Page 19**, l. 5. **integrity**, uprightness, honesty.

**philanthropy**, lit. 'love of mankind,' kindly disposition such as is shown in the 'Anti-Machiavel' mentioned p. 13, l. 9.

1. 25. For the position of these places, see map.

1. 33. **perfidy** (Lat. *per fides*, faith), lack of faith, dishonesty.

**Page 20**, l. 9. **Fleury**, Cardinal Fleury (1653-1743), French ecclesiastic and statesman. Tutor to Louis XV. when a boy, obtained and retained a great influence over that prince, and was in 1726 made Prime Minister. An honest and well-meaning man, but a poor statesman.

l. 14. **Belle-Isle** (1684-1761), a French marshal who commanded the French troops in the Austrian Campaign of 1740. He was defeated, taken prisoner, and sent to England. He returned to France at the end of a year and repelled the Austrian invasion of Provence, 1744; afterwards Minister of War.

l. 24. **potentates**, the powerful heads of various States (Lat. *potens*, *potentis*, powerful).

l. 33. **Fontenoy**, in Belgium, the scene of a defeat of the Duke of Cumberland by Marshal Saxe in 1745. The battle is famous for a splendid advance made by a column of 14,000 British troops into the midst of the French position.

l. 34. **Culloden**. The rebellion of the Young Pretender was crushed at Culloden Moor by the Duke of Cumberland, who behaved with savage ferocity to the defeated Highlanders.

**Page 21**, l. 1. **black men**, etc. Frederic's action embroiled us in a war with France, which extended to the rival colonies in India, where Clive distinguished himself on the Coromandel or Eastern Coast, and also to the colonies of New England and Canada (then French). In America each side obtained the assistance of different tribes of Indians, hence the remark here made.

l. 11. **connoisseurs**, experts, men distinguished for their knowledge in any particular branch of science or art.

l. 12. **Raphael** (1483-1520), the great Italian painter who painted the frescoes in the Vatican and many famous pictures.

l. 18. **Field-Marshal Schwerin** (1684-1757) served at first under Marlborough and Prince Eugene; entered the Prussian service in 1720; made Councillor of State by Frederic; won the battle of Molwitz, but was killed at the battle of Prague at the opening of the Seven Years' War.

l. 23. **Charles the Twelfth**, King of Sweden (1682-1718), defeated the Danes, routed the Russians at Narva, and then deposed Augustus, King of Poland, and compelled the Polish Diet to make Stanislaus Leczinsky king. Invaded Russia in 1708; defeated by Peter the Great at Pultowa. He took refuge with the Sultan of Turkey who allowed him to reside at Bender, in Bessarabia, 82 miles N.W. of Odessa. Returned to Sweden; invaded Norway and was killed at the Siege of Fredrichshall.

l. 25. **inauspicious**, not showing any good promise for the future. The Roman priests used to pretend to predict the future from examining the entrails of birds, hence the derivation (Lat. *avis*, a bird; *specio*, I look).

l. 29. **vulgar**, common.

l. 33. **grey**, i.e. grey charger, war-horse.

**Page 22**, l. 18. **Walpole**, Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), an

English statesman, Prime Minister of England from 1720 to 1742. A great financier and advocate of peace; it was his prompt action which restored national confidence after the South Sea Bubble. The war party in parliament becoming too strong he retired to the family seat of Houghton, in Norfolk.

l. 21. **Carteret**, John Carteret, Earl of Granville (1690-1763), succeeded Walpole, but was obliged to resign by the Pelhams owing to his Hanoverian tendencies. 'Eccentric,' because a man of peculiar ideas.

l. 26. **Turin**, a city in Northern Italy, formerly the capital of Piedmont. Taken by the French in 1640.

**Malplaquet**, a village 10 miles south of Mons, in Belgium. The scene of a great British victory, when Marlborough and Prince Eugene defeated the French in 1709. About 30,000 were killed.

l. 27. **trophies** (Gk. *trepo*, I turn), originally a monument erected at the turning point of a battle. Now applied to any memorial of victory, and more particularly to something taken from the enemy and preserved as a sign of conquest.

l. 28. **Blenheim**, a magnificent mansion near Woodstock, Oxfordshire. It cost £500,000 to build and was a present from the nation to Marlborough. The architect was Sir John Vanbrugh. In the grounds there is a column 130 feet high surmounted by a statue of Marlborough.

l. 36. **suffrages**, votes (Lat. *suffragium*, a vote).

**colleagues**, the other princes of the Germanic body who had the right of electing the emperor.

**Page 23**, l. 1. **practice of centuries**. See Introduction.

l. 4. **Cæsars**, the title borne by the Emperors of Rome and afterwards by the German Emperors. It is still used in the form *Kaiser* by the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria, and as *Czar* by the Emperor of Russia.

l. 5. **Hungary** was not a part of the German Empire.

l. 13. **Presburg**, on the Danube, 40 miles east of Vienna. The kings of Hungary were always crowned in its cathedral, with the ceremonies here described.

l. 21. **Diet**, a term frequently applied to parliaments and councils because they met daily (Lat. *dies*, a day).

l. 24. **Magnates**, those holding important positions—leading men (Lat. *magnus*, great).

l. 30. **Estates**, a meeting of members of all the *Estates* or ranks of society of a country.

**Page 24**, l. 22. **effaced**, wiped out, cleared away.

l. 24. **a peace**, that of Aix-la-Chapelle.



l. 35. **bloody debatable land.** A very descriptive term for the whole stretch of country from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, where the boundaries of the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires met. It was for years the scene of continual attacks and ravages of the Turks, and was known till comparatively recent times as the 'Military Frontier.'

l. 36. **Islam,** the countries under Turkish or Mohammedan sway.

**Page 25, l. 1. Pandoor or Pandour,** Austrian foot soldiers noted for their ferocity and savageness, so called from their coming from Pandur in the mountains of Hungary.

**Croat,** an inhabitant of Croatia, a province in the State of Austria.

**Hussar,** Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary A.D. 1458-1490, raised a corps of horsemen by taking one out of each twenty (*Huss*, twenty).

l. 7. **Dettingen,** fought 1743. The English were led by George II. in person, the last appearance of a king of England on the field of battle.

l. 10. **Alsace,** a province on the west bank of the Rhine, originally a part of the German Empire occupied treacherously by Louis XIV. in 1681.

**Three Bishoprics,** the territories ruled over by the Bishops of Lorraine, Metz, and Verdun. These districts were taken from the Germans in 1554 by Henry II. of France. The loss was never forgotten by the Germans, and, in 1871, after the Franco-German War, the province of Alsace-Lorraine was ceded to the Germans, and is now the imperial province of Elsass-Lothringen. The French still dream of its recapture—'*La revanche*,' as they term it.

l. 14. **Duchess of Chateauroux,** the mistress of Louis XV.

l. 25. **poetaster,** a little insignificant poet. One who dabbles in poetry. Used with a touch of contempt.

**foibles** (Fr. *foible*, feeble), weak points in a person's character.

l. 28. **Alexandrines,** rhyming verses, 12 syllables or 6 measures to the line, probably so called from an old French poem on Alexander written in this measure. It was largely adopted in France, but never found much favour in England, except as the last line of the Spenserian stanza. An example is found in Pope's well-known lines:

"A needless Alexandrine ends the song  
That like a wounded snake drags its slow length along."

The second of these lines is an Alexandrine.

l. 33. **whimsical,** peculiar, fun provoking, odd.

**Page 26, l. 8. diplomacy, statesmanship.**

l. 8. **credentials**. When an ambassador is sent on any mission he takes with him letters to prove that he is the duly credited agent of his government. These Voltaire did not possess.

l. 19. **filigree**, ornamental work in gold and silver thread (Lat. *filum*, a thread), something pretty to look at but easily broken.

l. 25. **permission**. It is against all international custom to march any force through another country without permission having been previously obtained.

l. 30. **communications**. It is one of the most important rules in the art of war to preserve communications with the base of support and so secure a sure and easy means of retreat. It was owing to the neglect of this that the French army was cut up in Russia in 1812.

**Page 27**, l. 6. **hostile armies**, i.e. rebellion of the Young Pretender; battle of Prestonpans, 1745; and Culloden, 1746.

l. 8. **novitiate**, the period of being a novice or a learner.

l. 11. **intuition**, the act of knowing a thing by merely looking at it, of knowing immediately and without previous study.

**Condé**, Louis de Bourbon, Prince of Condé (1621-1686), one of the greatest of French generals. He defeated the Spaniards at Rocroi (1643), and carried on several successful campaigns in the Netherlands. He returned to Paris, suppressed the revolt produced by Cardinal Mazarin's government. Afterwards headed a revolt, had to leave France, served in the armies of Spain, but returned in 1659. Succeeded Turenne as Commander-in-Chief of the French Forces.

**Olive**, Robert, Lord Clive, distinguished himself in India; laid the foundation of our Indian Empire by winning the battle of Plassey (1757). A born general.

**Napoleon**, the greatest general that has ever lived. His battles and victories were masterpieces of strategy.

l. 16. **Hohenfriedberg**, in Silesia. See map.

l. 22. **Saxe**, Maurice, natural son of Augustus II. of Poland (1696-1750), joined Marlborough's forces at the age of 12. In 1711 he took service with the Russian and Polish armies before Stralsund. Commanded the Austrian army which invaded Bohemia, took Prague and Eger. In 1744 he was a marshal of France and defeated the Duke of Cumberland at Fontenoy. Conducted the French war with success till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Visited Frederic.

**Page 28**, l. 5. **Aix-la-Chapelle** (German, *Aachen*), in Rhenish Prussia, 39 miles west of Cologne. Austria, by the terms of this peace, ceded Silesia and Glatz to Prussia, and Parma and Placentia to Spain.

l. 7. **patrimony**, what is inherited from a father.

l. 8. **dexterity**, cleverness (Lat. *dexter*, the right hand).

l. 33. **Richelieu** (1585-1642), the great French cardinal and statesman. Became Prime Minister in 1624 and retained his place till death, during which period he established the absolute power of the king.

l. 34. **Mazarin** (1602-1661), French cardinal and statesman of Italian birth, succeeded Richelieu and held supreme power during the minority of Louis XIV.

**Colbert** (1619-1683), French statesman, who, on the death of Mazarin, became Comptroller-General to Louis XIV. A great financier, developed home industries, and created the French navy. Losing the favour of Louis by his economy he was disgraced and soon after died.

**Louvois** (1641-1691), Minister of War to Louis, with whom his influence was greater than that of Colbert.

**Torcy**, Jean Colbert, Marquis de Torcy (1665-1746), a French minister of some ability.

The first two of these statesmen were more powerful than the king; the last three were able men, but their position depended entirely upon the king's pleasure. Frederic allowed none of his subjects to obtain any power.

**Page 29**, l. 3. **delegate**, to hand over to others.

l. 7. **intendant**, as we should say, superintendent.

l. 9. **master of the horse**, etc. These positions in nearly every other country are held by nobles or men of great ability.

l. 16. **morbid**, unhealthy, unnatural, amounting to a disease.

l. 30. **lithographic** (Gk. *lithos*, a stone; *grapho*, I write). Lithography is the art of producing printed impressions from designs cut or etched on stone.

**Page 30**, l. 6. **seals**. Letters and documents were sealed with sealing wax, on which an impression was made while hot. The letters could not then be opened without defacing the impression. Gummed envelopes were then unknown.

l. 11. **epigram**, a pithy sentence. For example, the wife of one of his agents applied to him for assistance on the ground that her husband had died and left her poor. His answer was, "I tied the ass to the manger, why did he not feed better?" To a young man with a very good opinion of himself, who was soliciting an appointment to a responsible post, the answer was, "2 *Samuel*, chap. x., v. 5," which is, "Tarry at Jericho till your beard is grown, then come again." Two ladies quarrelled over a matter of precedence, viz., which should enter the room first—the reply was, "Let the greater fool go foremost."

**Page 31**, l. 17. **villars**, Louis, Duc de Villars (1653-1734),

Marshal of France, served under Turenne and Condé; defeated by Marlborough at Ramillies and Malplaquet.

1. 23. **Old Guard.** Napoleon's Old Guard, enrolled in 1804, was composed of veteran soldiers, and constituted the flower of his armies. Suffered severely at Waterloo.

1. 26. **rustic militia**, men from the rural parts of the country who receive a short training each year—not sufficient, however, to be of much permanent use in turning out smart soldiers.

1. 29. **Mr. Joseph Hume** (1777-1855), an English politician, distinguished by uncompromising honesty, hatred of abuses, and love of liberty. He was energetic in reducing expenses, and in his protests against flogging in the army, press-gangs, and imprisonment for debt. He promoted the establishment of savings banks.

1. 30. **army estimate**, the amount of money asked for from the House of Commons for the expenses of the army for the ensuing year.

**Page 32, fiscal** (O. Fr. *fiisque*, the public purse), pertaining to the public revenue or exchequer.

1. 21. **farmed out**, that is, certain persons paid the king a fixed sum for it, and then made what they could by selling the produce.

1. 25. **Monmouth Street**, now Dudley Street, in London. "Fit for Monmouth Street," fit for dealers in old clothes.

1. 30. **harsher name**, i.e. miserliness.

**Page 33, 1. 10.** **scurrilous**, vulgar, indecent language, indecently abusive.

1. 16. **satire**, a piece of ridicule, irony, sarcasm.

1. 21. **Beaumarchais** (1732-1799), French comic dramatist, his best known work being *Barbier de Seville*. He undertook an expensive edition of Voltaire's works, which proved a financial failure.

**Page 34, 1. 14.** **Jesuit**, a member of the order of monks founded by Ignatius Loyola, noted for their zeal in restoring the power of the Church, and in conducting foreign missions.

1. 15. **proscribed**, outlawed.

1. 16. **Naples** was then an independent kingdom.

1. 17. **Vatican**, the residence of the Pope of Rome; frequently used, as here, to mean the government of the Pope.

1. 21. **dictatorial temper**. Stringent orders were issued and implicit obedience exacted. A *dictator* under the Romans was a man who was appointed at a time of great public danger to exercise supreme control over life, limb, and property of the whole state. His orders were law.

1. 25. **preposterous**, ridiculous, extravagant, unreasonable.

**monopoly**. When a person has the sole right of selling any article, he is said to have the 'monopoly' of it. Tobacco is a government monopoly in France.

1. 28. **bogs**, marshy land, the soil being generally composed of partially decayed vegetable matter, or peat.

1. 36. **Lyons**, on the Rhone, is the centre of the French silk manufacture. Brussels was famous for its woollens, and Birmingham is the chief seat of the hardware manufacture. Macaulay means that places like these are the production of years of steady growth and favourable natural conditions. No king can make a manufacturing town spring into existence by a mere order.

**Page 35**, 1. 7. **crude notions of equity**, ill-formed ideas of what was right and wrong, of what was just.

1. 10. **adjudicating**, hearing both sides of a question and pronouncing an opinion for one side or the other. It requires a long legal training to determine justly what may appear as a very trivial dispute.

1. 21. **make shift**, manage in some way or another.

**debauchee**, a man who is addicted to private vices.

1. 28. **Leyden**, on the Old Rhine, 5 miles from the sea. Its famous University was founded in 1575 by William of Orange to commemorate the heroic resistance of the inhabitants when besieged by the Spaniards. It still attracts students from all parts of Europe.

**Göttingen**, in the former kingdom of Hanover, another town famous for its University, which was founded by Baron Munchausen in 1734, under the auspices of George II.

1. 29. **civil disabilities**, loss of the privileges of citizenship.

**Page 36**, 1. 1. **speculation**, *i.e.* the abstract discussions of questions.

1. 4. **Siéyes**, Abbe Siéyes (1748-1836), one of the leaders of the French Revolution, the deadly enemy of class privileges. He drew up the Constitution by which Napoleon became Consul of France with himself, but finding that he was becoming the tool of his colleagues, he retired in disgust.

**chapter**. See note on p. 8, 1. 30.

1. 5. **genealogies**, tables showing the descent of a person.

**quarterings**. Families of a certain rank have a right to a coat of arms, some device by which they are known. If two families are united by marriage, or any other manner, the shield is divided, and the coat of arms of each included. Thus, on some English coins, the coats of arms of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, are 'quartered.'

l. 15. **Schiller**, Johann Schiller (1759-1805), the great German poet who wrote *The Song of the Bell*, *Maria Stuart*, *Wilhelm Tell*, and ballads.

l. 16. **Augustus**, the nephew of Julius Caesar, and the second Roman Emperor. Under him Roman literature rose to its greatest height—the period being known as the Augustan Age.

**Lorenzo**, the Magnificent, Duke of Florence, one of the Medicis, the patron of arts and sciences. See p. 13, l. 34.

l. 17. **Luther**, Martin Luther, the apostle of the Reformation.

l. 27. **civil dissensions**, the Rebellion of 1715 in aid of the Old Pretender.

**Page 37**, l. 1. **Jacobite cause**, the cause of the descendants of James II.; from the Latin form of his name—*Jacobus*.

l. 12. **Algarotti**, Francesco Algarotti (1712-1764), well versed in literature, friend of Voltaire and Pitt. Frederic made him a Count and erected a monument at Pisa to his memory.

**Bastiani**, the son of a tailor in Venice; had been crimped by Frederic William's people. Frederic found him serving as a Potsdam giant, and, recognizing his better faculties, made him a personal friend, and afterwards appointed him Abbot of Silesia.

l. 15. **Maupertuis**, Pierre Maupertuis (1698-1759), mathematician. Sent on his mission to Lapland in 1736; went to the Court of Frederic in 1740, and reorganized the Academy at Berlin, of which he became president. Was taken prisoner at Molwitz, afterwards returned to Berlin, quarrelled with Voltaire, whose satire drove him abroad, where he died.

l. 19. **academy**. The famous French academy was founded by Richelieu, its object being to render French pure and eloquent, to compile a dictionary of the language and a treatise on poetry. Its membership is limited to 40, and is considered a very great honour. It has exercised an enormous influence over French literature.

l. 25. **parts**, *i.e.* qualifications, knowledge.

l. 30. **rancour**, *i.e.* unreasoning bitterness.

l. 31. **incapable of rational inquiry**. For a person to inquire into any disputed question it is necessary, if he would arrive at a reasonable and accurate conclusion, that he should not be biassed in any way. A judge could hardly decide fairly if he had a strong personal dislike or friendship for a prisoner.

l. 34. **thirteen in company**. The ill-luck following these proceedings is still believed in by many persons who would object to be called superstitious.

**Page 38**, l. 9. **spleen**, ill humour; cf. "You shall digest the venom of your spleen, though it do split you" (Shak. *Jul. Cæs.*).

**Page 39, l. 9. hypochondriacal**, hypochondriasis is a complaint usually of adult males, characterized by absurd attentions to real or supposed bodily ailments and sensations. It usually produces loss of spirits and want of feeling for others.

l. 22. **caustic**, biting, burning, cutting.

l. 24. **Commodus** (161-192), Emperor of Rome after Marcus Aurelius. Probably the worst of the emperors; abandoned to every vice and depravity.

l. 25. **foil**, a foil is a narrow sword used only for thrusting, such as is used in fencing.

l. 28. **repartee**, smart and witty answers.

**Page 40, l. 7. lucrative**, carrying with it ample supplies of money.

l. 17. **the Palace of Alcina**. Alcina was the personification of carnal pleasure in *Orlando Furioso*, corresponding to the Circe of the classes. She enjoyed her lovers for a time, and then changed them into trees, stones, fountains, or beasts, as her fancy dictated.

l. 32. **bulk**, a wooden bed, or wooden shelf against a wall used as a bed, such as is common in the lowest class of lodging-houses, frequently arranged in tiers, one above the other.

l. 36. **inebriation**, intoxication, the elevation produced by some strong, stimulating agency.

**Page 41, l. 10. to fester**, to become inflamed, to gather.

l. 12. **Fréron** (1718-1776), French critic; defended the Church against Voltaire.

**Desfontaines**, an ex-Jesuit who had pirated and published Voltaire's book, *La Ligue*. Carlyle calls him "the type of endless doggery whose name should be blotted out."

l. 14. **pillorying**, being placed in the pillory. The pillory was a wooden stand by which a man could be fixed with his head and hands immovable. It was erected in a public place, and the unhappy victim was the recipient of all kinds of disgusting missiles hurled at him by the brutal populace.

l. 24. **impotence**, lack of power, inability.

l. 29. **Montesquieu** (1609-1755), a French philosopher and member of the Academy.

l. 30. **Buffon** (1707-1788), the famous French naturalist. Published in 1749 the first volume of an enormous work, *Natural History*, which placed him in the front rank of men of science.

l. 31. **Rousseau**, Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778), French philosopher and writer, his chief works being *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, *Du Contrat Social*, and *Emile*. Like Voltaire, he attacked with great force the vices of society, and although many of his ideas

were ridiculous, the strength of the others largely assisted in bringing about the French Revolution.

**Page 42, l. 6. walk**, one particular department or branch of writing.

l. 9. **Port-Royal**, a religious house near Paris; the inmates were noted for their holiness.

l. 12. **Crébillon** (1674-1762), a French dramatist of inferior ability.

l. 16. **capricious**, full of caprice, or sudden change without reason, derived from *capricus*, a young goat, whose sudden movements are made without any apparent cause.

l. 17. **thing**, used contemptuously.

l. 20. **Scudery**, Madeleine Scudery, an interminable French novelist (1607-1701). Her novels are extremely tedious, the best known, *The Grand Cyrus*, filling 15,000 pages. She must have been a woman of good qualities, for she was esteemed by Madame de Sévigné.

l. 26. **Cornelle** (1606-1684), a French dramatist who wrote *Le Cid* (which established his fame), *Horace*, *Cinna*, *La Mort de Pompée*.

l. 33. **Bentley**, Richard Bentley (1662-1742), a great English scholar, became Master of Trinity in 1700, and from then till his death was always involved in dispute. An arrogant, rapacious man, but of great ability.

**Page 43, l. 4. Madame du Châtelet** (1706-1749), mistress of Voltaire from 1733 to 1747. She afterwards contracted a liaison with a soldier, and died soon after giving birth to a child, of which he was the father.

l. 14. **louis**, the louis was a French gold coin first issued by Louis XIII. in 1640. Its value varied from 16s. 7d. to 18s. 9½d.

l. 20. **lucre** (Lat. *lucrum*, gain, profit), pecuniary gain or advantage. The word is generally used in a bad sense—"filthy lucre."

l. 21. **effrontery** (Lat. *effrons*, shameless), impudence, shamelessness, audacity.

l. 23. **coquettes**, a term formerly applied to men and women, now limited to the latter. One who, prompted by vanity, endeavours to gain lovers, or, at least, admirers.

l. 25. **dry**, direct, brief, without arguing the question.

l. 27. **paroxysm** (Gk. *paroxysmos*, irritation, the fit of a disease), a violent outburst—a by no means uncommon event with Voltaire.

l. 29. **haggles**, to cavil or stick at a price on small matters.

l. 35. **Good-natured**, used sarcastically. A friend who was



really good-natured would endeavour to prevent the infliction of pain, unless it be as the French moralist says, "There is always something in the misfortune of our dearest friends that is not unpleasant to us."

**Page 44, l. 2. passport**, a safe-conduct or warrant of protection and licence to travel granted by a government to its subjects. Formerly every traveller needed one, but now only a few countries insist on them.

**post-horses**, travelling then was done by means of relays of horses from one post or station to another.

1. 8. **ghastly** (ghost-like). Voltaire was a weak, decrepit old man on his return, and, as we have seen, the excitement caused his death.

1. 16. **patent** (Lat. *patens*, lying open), an open letter issued by the Crown guaranteeing some privilege.

1. 24. **dispenser of immortal renown**, i.e. Frederic thought that Voltaire's approbation would be considered unimpeachable by all succeeding generations.

**Page 45, l. 4. But**, the repetition of the word implies a continual feeling that, notwithstanding everything was outwardly enjoyable, there was some ill-defined uneasiness and doubt that things were not really so pleasant as they seemed.

1. 6. **exquisitely**, perfectly, especially.

1. 15. **receiver-general**, an officer appointed to receive public money. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such officers always realized a fortune by handing over for public use far less than they received.

1. 18. **Harpagon**, the name of the miser in Molière's comedy *L'Avare*, who makes himself ridiculous by his niggardliness.

**Scapin**, in *Les Fourberies de Scapin*, another of Molière's comedies, a knavish valet who makes his master his tool.

1. 22. **indemnified**, make good his loss.

1. 26. **galled**, irritated by continual friction.

1. 35. **Bigots**. A bigot is a person unreasonably wedded to his own opinions, and disposed to despise and persecute all those who think differently.

**Page 46, l. 5. august** (accent on second syllable), sacred, venerable, grand, magnificent (Lat. *augustus*).

1. 12. **Milton's Paradise Lost**.

1. 21. **last solace**, i.e. a belief in Christianity, and the hope of a life hereafter. It is, as Macaulay justly points out, this hope for the future which enables men to bear the greatest afflictions patiently. Voltaire's writings did more than anything else to

cause the infidelity which characterized France at the time of the Revolution.

1. 29. **stockjobbing**, dealing in stocks and shares, buying at a low price in the hope or belief that a higher price could be realized later.

1. 30. **dubious**, *i.e.* doubtful. The transactions were on the border lines of honesty and dishonesty.

**Page 47**, l. 2. **mortification**, humiliation, chagrin, vexation. As an instance of this, it is related that on one occasion Frederic had at his court a man who could repeat any poem after hearing it recited once. Hiding him behind a curtain, Frederic requested Voltaire to repeat for them a new poem which he had just finished. When he had done so, Frederic asserted that it was not new—that he had, in fact, stolen it—and produced the man, who, much to Voltaire's intense surprise, repeated the poem verbatim. The king and the court enjoyed the writer's frantic assertions and gesticulations for some time before explaining the trick to him.

1. 10. **exasperated**, enraged, embittered, irritated, inflamed.

1. 12. **capacity of wit**, *i.e.* in his position of a witty person, not as the king.

1. 18. **Grub Street**, originally the name of a street near Moorfields, London, much inhabited by men engaged in the production of low-class literature. Hence a 'Grub Street writer' means a poor, needy, unimportant writer.

1. 19. **Dunciad**, a stinging satire written by Pope, in which he lashes all the minor writers of his age. Many of them owe their immortality to their names being in the *Dunciad*, for their works are entirely forgotten.

1. 30. **to set his mark**, etc., a phrase suggested by God's punishment of Cain (*Genesis* iv. 15, "And the Lord set a mark on Cain").

1. 32. **Diatribes**, *i.e.* an invective discourse, a strain of abuse and railery. *Akakia* is a Greek word meaning guilelessness.

**Page 48**, l. 4. **pasquinade**, a libel. The word is derived from Pasquins, a cobbler at Rome, who was famous for his sarcasm and railery.

1. 16. **amanuensis**, one who writes out for another, a copier. Writers frequently dictate their ideas to a shorthand writer, who afterwards writes out at length what has been taken down. Such an assistant is called an amanuensis.

1. 17. **to be burned**, etc. This was considered as inflicting indelible disgrace on the author.

1. 30. **plagiarism**. A plagiarist is one who steals some one's ideas or writings and passes them off to the world as his own.

1. 32. **father**, confess to being the author of. The meaning is that Frederic's verses were so very much inferior to Voltaire's, that the latter, instead of wanting to steal them, would never have consented to their being called his, since it would diminish his reputation.

1. 36. **daw**, *i.e.* a jackdaw, a bird well known for its thievish tendencies.

**Page 49**, l. 7. **resident**, an official paid to live in the town to look after the interests of his country ; a consul.

1. 11. **hovel**, a dirty, dilapidated hut.

1. 23. **Count Bruhl**, the worthless friend and flatterer of Augustus of Saxony. He encouraged his master in all schemes of stupidity and extravagance, and nearly ruined both him and his country, while enriching himself.

1. 33. **Lake Lemah**. 'Lemanus' was the Roman name for what we know as the Lake of Geneva.

**Page 50**, l. 1. **Burke**, Edmund Burke (1728-97), Irishman by birth, the greatest of English orators. His *Thoughts on the French Revolution*, in which he criticised and condemned the action of the French Revolutionists, exerted an enormous influence over English thought and opinion at the time.

1. 2. **Constituent Assembly**, the National Assembly of France, which carried on the Revolution between 1789 and 1892. It was succeeded by the National Convention.

1. 4. **Vitruvius**, the author of a celebrated treatise on *Architecture* ; a contemporary of Julius Caesar, under whom he served.

1. 10. **beneath the Alps**. The Lake of Geneva is, of course, in close proximity with the Alps ; 'beneath' means 'at or near the foot of.'

1. 16. **pleasure of vindicating innocence**, *e.g.* Jean Calas, a Protestant citizen of Toulouse, was accused of murdering his son to prevent his changing religion. He was tortured and burnt, protesting his innocence to the last. Mainly through Voltaire's efforts, a new trial and full acquittal were obtained.

1. 19. **Capuchins**. The Capuchins were a branch of the Franciscan order of monks, so called from the capuche or cowl or pointed hood they wore. They were noted for their austerity and the rigour of their rules.

1. 20. **Antichrist**, one who stands pre-eminently forth as the antagonist of Christ. "He is antichrist, that denieth the Father and the Son" (1 John ii. 22). "Ye have heard that antichrist shall come" (1 John ii. 18). The word is used similarly in other places in the *New Testament*.

1. 26. **great wrong**, *i.e.* the robbery of Silesia.

1. 36. **high spirit**, *i.e.* bold, determined, resolute.

**Page 51, l. 17, confessor**, a priest who officially hears confessions and prescribes penance to penitents or grants them absolution.

**l. 25. stately goddess, i.e. Juno**, the queen of heaven, the wife of Jupiter.

**l. 27. Troy**, a town on the coast of Asia Minor, near the Dardanelles, known throughout the world for the famous siege described in Homer's magnificent epic, the *Iliad*. The siege was undertaken to recover Helen the Beautiful, who had been carried to Troy by Paris. All the gods of ancient mythology took sides in the matter and helped their favourites.

**l. 28. sparta**, the capital of Laconia, on the Eurotas, 20 miles from the sea. One of the most famous cities of ancient Greece.

**Mycenæ**, a town in Argolis, at one time the first city in Greece, destroyed in 468. Both these cities were under the protection of Juno.

**l. 30. Priam**, King of Troy at the time of the siege.

**l. 31. coalition**, a temporary combination of states for some political purpose.

**l. 35. Tanais, i.e. the Don**, a river of Russia which flows into the Sea of Azov. It was usually considered the boundary between Europe and Asia.

**l. 36. petty** (Fr. *petit*, small), small, comparatively unimportant.

**Page 52, l. 10. amalgamate**, become united, merge into one.

**l. 14. Most Christian King**, a title assumed by the kings of France, which they by no means deserved.

**l. 18. antipathy** (Gk. *anti*, against; *pathos*, feeling), a feeling against one, inherent dislike.

**l. 19. Roman purple**, a dull red made from a shell-fish, the distinctive colour of the robes of imperial personages under the Romans. Hence 'wearing the purple' is synonymous with 'being emperor.' In later times it was applied to the cardinals of the Roman Church from the scarlet hat, stockings, and cassock worn by them.

**l. 20. heretics of Rochelle and Auvergne**, the Huguenots or French Protestants. Their headquarters were at La Rochelle, on the Bay of Biscay, besieged in 1573 and in 1627-28 by Richelieu, when, the Duke of Buckingham's expedition being a failure, it was taken and the old fortifications demolished.

**l. 22. chief of the empire**, the German Emperor, who was of the Austrian dynasty. See Introduction. Lines 18 to 22 mean that the French kings, even when ardent supporters of the Papacy, and while persecuting Protestants in their own country, sympathized with Protestants in Germany merely because they were fighting against the emperor, although he was a

Catholic. Their hatred of that house was stronger than their religious sympathies.

1. 26. **Gustavus Adolphus** (1594-1632), King of Sweden, invaded Germany in 1630 as head of the Protestant League, won several battles, captured Munich and defeated Wallenstein at Lützen, but was killed in the battle. The government of Louis XIII., under Cardinal Richelieu, 'the greatest of their predecessors,' though Catholic, openly aided the Protestant powers in the Thirty Years' War.

**Page 53, l. 4.** **diplomatists**, those skilled in diplomacy or the science and art of conducting negotiations between nations, eminent politicians.

1. 5. **plausibility**, deserving of praise, speciousness, apparent correctness and justice.

1. 6. **great powers**, a term applied to the leading nations of Europe.

1. 13. **truce**, an agreement between two belligerent powers to suspend hostilities for a certain period.

1. 26. **but Sweden**. Sweden gained Western Pomerania. The independence of Holland and Switzerland was recognized, but neither of the great powers engaged in the war obtained any advantage.

1. 34. **barren glory**, because no practical advantage was gained; and victory, such as it was, was purchased by a great loss of life. Even the honour lay with the English.

**Page 54, l. 4.** **chicane**, the making use of mean, petty subterfuges in order to draw away attention from the real merits of a case or to prolong a contest.

"He strove to lengthen the Campaign  
And save his forces by *chicane*."—Prior.

What Macaulay refers to is what has frequently been done by unscrupulous lawyers who have succeeded in setting neighbours at variance, so that they might reap the profits from the law-suits which followed.

1. 9. **barrator**, one who, for his own purposes, stirs up litigation or private quarrels among his neighbours. The word is rarely used now, except in the special case of a master of a ship who embezzles or injures goods committed to his charge.

1. 14. **Flanders**, the country that we now know as Belgium, then the Austrian Netherlands.

1. 31. **bucanier**, a robber, a pirate. Generally used in speaking of the buccaneers of the Spanish main, a race of men with piratical tendencies who infested the West Indies for nearly two hundred years. The word is derived from the Caribbee Indian *boucan*, dried meat or flesh; and a *buccaneer* was originally one

whose occupation was drying meat or looking after the herds of cattle.

1. 36. **facetious**, fond of fun and merriment.

**abbé**, the French term for abbot (the head of an abbey), but it was last century a title often borne by a clergyman who had no office or responsibilities, and even by those who had taken a course of ecclesiastical studies without entering the Church.

**Page 55**, l. 1. **Madame de Pompadour** (1721-1764), mistress of Louis XV., who virtually ruled France from 1745 till her death. See p. 56, l. 4. Strange as it may appear to us, ladies of fashion in the eighteenth century were accustomed to receive visitors of either sex while they were performing their toilet.

1. 17. **Collé**, Charles (1707-1777), a French dramatist and song-writer of fair ability, secretary to the Duke of Orleans.

1. 18. **young Crébillon** (1707-1777), a French writer, educated at a Jesuit school, became popular as a writer of fiction. Married in 1740 Lady Stafford. Banished through the influence of Pompadour, but afterwards returned and was made censor.

1. 25. **Empress Elizabeth** (1709-1761), daughter of Peter the Great, seized the throne in 1741 and ruled with ability. Her private life was far from being above reproach, and her 'gallantries' or love affairs attracted other writers than Frederic.

1. 27. **ribaldry**, obscenity, indecency.

**invective**, a bitter abusive attack on a person.

**Page 56**, l. 1. **concubine**, *i.e.* mistress.

1. 2. **by prostituting others**. She retained her influence over the king by procuring him mistresses.

1. 4. **cousin** (Lat. *consobrinus*, a relative), a title used by a sovereign in addressing one of inferior rank, even when there is no blood relationship.

1. 6. **harem** (Arabian *haram*, woman's apartments), the rooms or building occupied by the mistresses or concubines of a man.

1. 21. **tools**, *i.e.* spies, informers.

1. 24. **consistent**, agreeing with one another. Had the accounts been contradictory some doubt must have been felt as to their authenticity and correctness.

1. 36. **Wurtemberg**, a kingdom lying between Baden and Bavaria. Suffered much during the Thirty Years' War. Karl (1737-1793), who was king at this time, assisted Louis XIV.

**Page 57**, l. 3. **less formidable confederacy**. By the League of Cambray, the Pope, the Emperor, France, and Spain formed a coalition to attack the republic of Venice, then at the height of its fame.

l. 5. **less formidable confederacy.** In 1701, mainly by the exertions of William III., a Grand Alliance of England, Holland, and the Emperor was formed to curb the power of Louis XIV. The war of the Spanish Succession which followed and Marlborough's victories compelled the French king to sue for peace.

l. 9. This probably refers to the downfall of Napoleon in 1815, caused by the allied forces of Prussia and England. It would also apply to the union of England and Russia against the Turkish empire, which resulted in the liberation of Greece.

l. 22. **apathy.** The people of Silesia, who were Protestants, would at the most abstain from opposing him; those who were Catholics would fight against him.

l. 30. **confederates of Cambray.** See note on l. 3.

l. 31. **lagoons,** a shallow lake or sheet of water connected with the sea. The lagoons of Venice are separated from the Adriatic by low sandy islands.

More than one great and well-appointed army, *e.g.* the Austrians were defeated with great slaughter at Morgarten in 1315, at Lampen in 1339, at Sempach in 1386; and the French, under Charles the Bold, at Morat in 1476.

**Page 58, l. 5. insult, i.e. attack, siege, sack.** Berlin was plundered more than once during the course of the war.

l. 21. **effective strength.** The actual number of soldiers who were ready to fight, not merely paper estimates, but realities.

l. 25. **No public creditors looked for dividends.** There being no National Debt, there was no interest to pay, and, therefore, no money to be devoted to paying it. The Debt of England at the present time is over 600 million pounds, and this requires that 25 million pounds should be raised every year by taxation to pay the interest due.

**distant colonies,** as in the case of England.

l. 26. **No court, etc.,** as was the case with the French court at this time.

**Page 59, l. 3. dictatorship.** See p. 33, l. 21.

l. 17. **the Danube.** The Turkish empire was bounded partly on the North by the Danube. If the then formidable Turkish army invaded Austria, that country would have to leave Frederic alone in order to repel the invaders.

l. 19. **fundamental principles, i.e. to oppose the power of Austria in every way.**

l. 29. **armistice,** an agreement between nations at war to abstain from hostilities for a time, each knowing that the war must be resumed.

1. 31. **Carnatic**, the plain lying between the Eastern Ghauts and the Bay of Bengal. The vice royalty of this province became vacant in 1748 and two claimants appeared, Mirzapha Jung and Anaverdy Khan. Trade jealousy and the ambition of Dupleix led the English and French traders to take part in the contest, the French supporting the former, the English the latter (and on his death his son, Mahommed Ali). At first the French cause triumphed, but subsequently the genius of Clive restored English ascendancy and laid the foundation of our Indian empire. Fort St. George at Madras was the chief English station; Pondicherry the chief French settlement.

1. 34. **Lawrence**, Major, (1697-1775), 'the father of the Indian army,' under whom Clive served in his first campaign, and who was always his close friend. He saw much fighting in the Seven Years' War in India.

1. 35. **Dupleix** (1697-1763), Governor-General of the French possessions in India, a man who planned to do what Clive effected, viz. conquer India for his nation. He was recalled in 1753.

**Page 60, l. 2. kidnapped negroes**, stole them from their home by force or deceit and sold them as slaves in the West Indies.

1. 3. **But it was in North America**, etc. Canada had been settled and partly colonized by the French. Their rule extended along the north of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. They had also a colony, Louisiana, at the mouth of the Mississippi. The English colonies lay on the Atlantic coast, from Maine to Carolina. Both countries were engaged mainly in the fur trade with the Great North West, and to hem in the English the French proposed to build a chain of forts along the Richelieu, Ohio, and Mississippi. Some of these were built. Fort Duquesne was attacked by General Braddock, whose force was totally defeated by the French and their Iroquois allies. George Washington served on the English side in this campaign.

1. 11. **death-songs**, the songs chanted by the Indians when suffering torture at the stake.

1. 26. **The amount of her revenue**. The annual revenue of England during the present reign has increased from 40 to 110 millions, an increase which would astonish Macaulay could he revisit his country.

**Page 61, l. 1. temerity, rashness, audacity.**

1. 6. **the style of an oracle**. The Romans and Greeks were fond of consulting oracles which were persons or statues, by means of which the gods replied to inquirers. They were, of course, fraudulent impostures, and the answers given were in such words that they might be understood in two or three ways. Thus, if a merchant inquired as to the safety of his ship, the answer was, perhaps, "The ship the storm will overcome," which was bound to



be true. An oracular answer is one in which the meaning is not clearly expressed.

l. 8. **evasive**, *i.e.* not answering the question directly.

l. 9. **Augustus**, Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, and Augustus II. of Poland (1696-1763).

l. 10. **Pirna**. See map.

l. 11. **Dresden**, the capital of Saxony, in the charming valley of the Elbe. Famous for its public buildings and art galleries.

l. 33. **invested**, *i.e.* surrounded and besieged.

l. 34. **Marshal Brown** (1705-57), of Irish Jacobite family, Governor of Silesia. Mortally wounded at the battle of Prague.

**Page 62**, l. 2. **Lowositz**. See map.

l. 5. **capitulated**, surrendered.

l. 9. "Sometimes his subjects, sometimes wretched foreigners."

l. 26. **Duke of Cumberland**, William Augustus (1721-1765), second son of George II., who was distinguished for his courage, but was defeated at Fontenoy, Lawfield, and Hastenbeck. He behaved with great cruelty when he had defeated the Young Pretender at Culloden, and gained the nickname of '*butcher*.'

**Page 63**, l. 4. **Daun** (1705-1766), a man of great valour and prudence. Commanded the Moravian army, drove Frederic out of Bohemia. In 1759 he compelled Fink to surrender with a force of 11,000 men.

l. 9. This refers to an incident in the Bohemian phase of the Thirty Years' War when Maximilian of Bavaria routed Frederic, Elector of the Palatinate (two provinces on the Rhine, united in 1623, capital Heidelberg), near Prague.

l. 12. **Prince Ferdinand** (1741-1792), served in the Prussian army in the first Silesian war and the Seven Years' War. In 1758 he was appointed commander of the English forces in Germany, and in 1759 won the battle of Minden.

l. 16. **the colours**, *i.e.* the flag, carried by an officer called an ensign, and a rallying point for the regiment. To capture the enemies' colours was considered a great honour, and this led to so much useless bloodshed that flags are not at the present time carried into action by British regiments.

l. 20. **field argent** (Lat. *argentum*, silver). The black eagle on a silver or white ground is the Prussian national flag.

l. 32. **Kolin**. See map.

l. 33. **impregnable**, impossible to be taken by assault.

l. 34. Also the date of the Battle of Waterloo.

l. 36. **Nemesis**, a Greek goddess who measured out to mortals happiness and misery, who punished crime and inflicted loss and

suffering on the rich and haughty. Both Frederic and Napoleon suffered severe defeat on this day.

**Page 64, l. 9. expostulating**, remonstrating, reasoning earnestly to make him change his opinions.

**l. 11. batteries**, a fortification armed with heavy guns, or a collection of field guns in the open.

**l. 27. in his star.** It was a common superstition till quite recent times that the events in a man's life were ruled over by the stars. Thus, one person would be born under a lucky or fortunate star or combination of stars, and another the reverse. Traces of the belief exist in such colloquial phrases as "You may thank your stars"; in fact, it can hardly be said that the belief has died out, as there are still persons who pretend to predict the future by the stars, and fools who believe in them.

**l. 29. detractors** (Lat. *de*, from; *traho, tractum*, I draw), those who 'drew from' or spoke against his judgment and fame.

**heir-presumptive ... heir-apparent.** "*Heirs apparent* are such whose right of inheritance is indefeasible, provided they outlive the ancestor, as the eldest son. *Heirs presumptive* are such who, if the ancestor should die immediately, would in the present circumstances of things be his heirs, but whose right of inheritance may be defeated by the contingency of some nearer heir being born" (Blackstone). William was *heir-presumptive*, because if Frederic had died then he would have succeeded, and, "in truth, heir-apparent," because it was extremely improbable that Frederic should have a son.

**l. 31. the present king.** This was William I. (1797-1888), who became German Emperor in 1871. His son Frederic succeeded in 1888, but died in a few months from cancer in the throat. His son, William II. (b. 1859), is the present German Emperor.

**Page 65, l. 1. inexorable**, unyielding, implacable, inflexible, determined.

**l. 7. Marshal d' Estrées**, a poor soldier, superseded by Richelieu, served under Soubise in his final campaign.

**l. 9. Hastenbeck**, near the Weser on the Borders of Hanover. Of this battle Carlyle says, "It was the poorest battle in the world, ought to have been lost by both."

**l. 22. Leipzig**, a large town in Saxony, which suffered from the Thirty Years' War. Famous now for its book printing and selling, in which trade it ranks next to London.

**Page, 66, l. 5. corrosive sublimate**, bichloride of mercury, a powerful irritant poison.

**l. 7. insipid**, tasteless, destitute of all flavour.

**Hippocrene**, the fountain of the Muses, formed by the hoof of Pegasus.

1. 8. **lyre of Chaulieu**, Chaulieu, Guillaume (1639-1720), a French writer, educated for the church. One of the wittiest men of his time, who wrote poems, much praised by his friends, but far too negligently written to have much chance of being remembered.

Macaulay means that Frederic's poetry was far inferior to the worst of Voltaire's and did not even approach the level of Chaulieu's, and therefore must have been extremely poor.

1. 11. **Hannibal** (247-183 B.C.), the great Carthaginian general who led an army from Spain, over the Pyrenees, through France, over the Alps into Italy, where he defeated the Romans at Lake Trasymene and Cannae. He was defeated at Zama by Scipio Africanus, and returned to Carthage. Rather than surrender to the Romans he committed suicide.

1. 16. **Cibber**, Colley Cibber (1671-1757), actor and dramatist, who became Poet Laureate, and who was made hero of the *Dunciad* in the edition of 1741.

1. 17. **Hayley** (1745-1820), English poet and miscellaneous writer. Friend of Gibbon and Cowper. He wrote *Triumphs of Music* and *Triumphs of Temper*, and many essays on art and poetry.

1. 18. **Prometheus**, the mythical Greek character who stole the divine fire from heaven. He was for this chained to a rock, where, in the daytime, an eagle consumed his liver, which was restored each succeeding night.

1. 19. **Orpheus**, another mythical person who played so sweetly on his harp that trees and rocks followed him. His wife, Eurydice, having died, he visited Hades and procured her release, but, failing to adhere to the conditions laid down, he lost her completely. He was torn to pieces by the Thracian women for his contempt of them.

**Elysium**, the Elysian Fields, that part of Hades in which the shades of the blessed live. *Acheron* was a river in Hades.

1. 20. **Philomel**, daughter of King Pandion, was metamorphosed into the nightingale. Thus the nightingale is often referred to by the poets as 'Sad Philomel.'

**Morpheus**, the son of sleep and the god of dreams. The *poppy* was the flower of Morpheus, because a decoction of poppy heads produced sleep. Opium is made from the poppy.

**frippery**, useless or used-up finery.

1. 22. **has long been ... abandoned**. The things mentioned above are some of the best known of Greek myths, and have been the subjects of countless poems, but they have become so hackneyed that real poets adopt fresher subjects on which to write.

1. 23. **mediocrity**, average ability (Lat. *medius*, the middle).

l. 24. **grotesque**, ludicrous, laughable, ridiculous.

l. 26. **blue-stocking**, a dabbler in literature, now generally applied to a woman. Boswell, in his *Life of Johnson*, states that in his day there were meetings held by ladies to converse with literary men. The most distinguished talker at these meetings was a Mr. Stillingfleet, who always wore blue stockings. When he was absent the remark was made, "We can do nothing without the blue stockings." Hence the meetings were called 'Blue Stocking Clubs,' and the term was soon applied to the members generally. Always used with a touch of contempt.

**Mithridates**, called The Great, King of Pontus, B.C. 120-63, celebrated for his wars against the Romans. A man of great energy and ability, with such a powerful memory that he learnt twenty-five languages. A great and successful general. Defeated by Pompey.

**Trissotin** is the bel-esprit, the man of letters in Molière's comedy *Les Femmes Savantes*.

'Half Mithridates and half Trissotin' means—a compound of two characters, one, the bold, energetic man of action, the other, the literary dabbler.

**Page 67**, l. 17. **panegyric**, eulogy, praise, commendation.

**Page 68**, l. 5. **asylum**, refuge, place of protection.

l. 6. **calumniating**, covering with ridicule and libel.

l. 19. **guarded**, *i.e.* careful.

l. 20. **Mitchell**, Sir Andrew Mitchell, ambassador at Brussels in 1751, and afterwards envoy extraordinary to Berlin, where he won the friendship of Frederic, and drew him from the French to the English alliance. Died 1771.

**Page 69**, l. 1. **stability**, secure and lasting foundation (*Lat. sto, I stand*).

l. 13. **Duke of Richelieu** (1696-1788), French Marshal, formerly French ambassador at Vienna, where he discharged his duties with much skill. Entered the army, took Minorca, beat the Duke of Cumberland and conquered Hanover. The rest of his life was passed in licentious intrigues.

l. 14. **gallantry**. *i.e.* amours, love affairs.

l. 16. **La Clos** (1741-1803), became famous for his romance, *Liaisons Dangereuses*, a very immoral book, which matched the age in which it was written.

l. 25. **impaired**, damaged, diminished, made less than formerly.

l. 33. **profusion** (*Lat. pro, forth; fundo, fustum, I pour*), squandering, reckless extravagance.

**Page 70**, l. 4. **excepted**, *i.e.* left out (*Lat. ex, out; capio, ceptum, I take*).

proscribed, rejected.

1. 19. **Marshal Soubise** (1715-1787), Governor of Flanders in 1751, by the favour of Madame de Pompadour obtained command in this war; defeated at Rosbach, though he afterwards conquered Hesse. Minister of State under Louis XV. and Louis XVI.

1. 20. **Armorican.** Armorica is the western part of the country between the Seine and Loire. Inhabited in Cæsar's time by a confederacy of tribes called the Armorican League, whom he defeated. Long afterwards it received the name of Bretagne or Brittany from being inhabited by the Britons. The language (Armorican) is akin to the Welsh. The house of Rohan was one of the oldest, noblest, and proudest families in France. Their motto was "Duc ne daigne, Roi ne puis, Rohan suis" (I disdain to be a duke, I cannot be a king, I am simply Rohan.)

1. 25. **Rosbach**, in Prussian Saxony, 22 miles from Leipsic.

1. 34. **Charles of Loraine**, the reigning duke of Loraine.

**Page 71** 1. 3. **Leuthen**, in Lower Silesia, 10 miles west of Breslau. See map.

1. 9. **convoked** (Lat. *con*, *vocare*, to call together), called together.

1. 10. **pathos**, feeling.

1. 16. **Saxon Sternholds.** Thomas Sternhold was the author of an English version of some of the *Psalms*. The whole was completed in 1562, and for two centuries this was the whole of the hymnology of the Church. When a new version appeared in 1696 the former was known as the 'Old Version.' The word is used here for psalm and hymn writers generally.

1. 27. **vicissitudes**, changes.

1. 30. **on terms of advantage**, maintaining an advantage or superiority over others.

**Page 72**, 1. 1. **Leipsic.** The battle of Leipsic or Breitenfeld was fought on October 16-18, 1814, between Napoleon with 180,000 men, and the Germans, Swedes, etc., with 300,000 men. Called the 'Battle of Nations.'

1. 12. **Hessian.** An inhabitant of Hesse.

1. 25. **Courland**, or Kurland, a province on the Baltic south of Gulf of Riga. Originally a duchy under the kingdom of Poland. United to Russia in 1795.

**Lorraine**, a province in the north-east of France. Governed by dukes till 1711, when it passed to France.

1. 28. **petulant**, perverse, forward, insolent, capricious.

**licentious**, dissolute, profligate, immoral.

**Page 73**, 1. 1. **dialect**, a branch of a language.

1. 2. **Arminius** (B.C. 16-A.D. 23), son of the chief of a German tribe, sent to Rome as a hostage, entered the Roman army, where he attained high rank. He revolted from Rome and became the recognized leader of the Germans. He defeated and destroyed a Roman army under Varus, and for some time maintained the contest against Germanicus. Assassinated by one of his own countrymen.

1. 6. **Frankfort**, i.e. Frankfort on the Main, a free city for centuries, the place where the German Emperors were elected. From 1816 to 1866 was the capital of Germany. In the latter year it was incorporated with Prussia.

1. 7. **Nuremburg**, in Bavaria, in the province of Middle Franconia. Noted at the present time for its manufactures of watches, clocks, and toys.

1. 18. **in his own despite**, in spite of himself.

**emancipate**, set free.

1. 22. **Boileau** (1636-1711), a French critic who exerted an enormous influence over his countrymen, and, in fact, the whole civilized world. His *Art of Poetry* (1673) gave the law for many years to French and English literature, and did much to improve and elevate the taste of his people.

1. 25. **French classic**. One of the few who represented French literature in its purest form.

1. 33. **cocked hat**. The military full dress hat, pointed before and behind and rising to a point at the crown.

1. 34. **pigtail**. It was then the custom for military and naval men to let the hair grow long and plait it in a pigtail, like the Chinese.

**Page 74**, 1. 1. **sign-painters**, those who made it a business to paint signs for the outside of a public house. *The King's Head* is a very popular name for an inn, and a rough portrait of Frederic may still be seen swinging outside many a rural ale-house.

1. 4. **Methodists**. Methodism, one of the leading religious systems of English-speaking people, was founded in 1727, mainly through the preaching of John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. The name was derived from the methodical way in which they performed religious duties. The Established Church appealing very little to the common people at that period, the success of the movement was immediate and great.

1. 6. **Joshua or Gideon**, Hebrew Judges, who gained great victories over the idolatrous peoples of Canaan.

1. 22. **abstemiousness**, simplicity of living, abstaining from all luxuries and many comforts.

1. 23. **monastic orders**, orders or classes of monks. The

members of some of these, *e.g.* the Trappists, have to practise the most rigid self-denial.

l. 25. **pewter**, an alloy of tin and lead; or tin, antimony, and copper. A white metal, much more commonly used formerly than at present, when it is mainly restricted to drinking vessels.

l. 29. **Spartan**. The inhabitants of Sparta (p. 51, l. 28) were famous for their simplicity and austerity of manners.

l. 33. **Howards and Cavendishes**. Two of the oldest and noblest English families. The Duke of Norfolk is the head of the former, and the Duke of Devonshire of the latter house. Used in this sense for any Englishmen belonging to noble families.

l. 35. **plate**, *i.e.* silver.

**Champagne**, a French wine, originally made at Champagne in France. If good, it is very expensive.

l. 36. **Tokay**, a rich highly-prized wine, made at Tokay in Upper Hungary.

**Page 75**, l. 4, **subsidy**, aid given in money. Often granted, as in this case, by one Government to another to assist it in carrying on war. The amount in this case was £700,000 per annum.

l. 13. **mercenaries**, men of another state hired to fight. To hire troops was a very common means of raising an army in former times (*e.g.* the King of France had 15,000 cross-bow men in his army at Cressy), now practically abandoned.

l. 14. **vindicated**, justified, showed the wisdom of.

l. 28. **Quarter was neither given nor asked**, *i.e.* it was a fight to the death, no prisoners were taken. To give quarter is to spare an opponent when he yields himself prisoner.

l. 29. **Scythians**. The term 'Scythia' was applied by the Greeks to the S.E. part of Russia, between the Carpathians and the Don. 'Scythians' is used in this case as a general term for Russians.

**Page 76**, l. 2. **zenith**, *i.e.* the highest point. The zenith is the point in the heavens directly overhead, the opposite is the Nadir.

l. 18. **Laudohn (1716-1790)**, an Austrian general in the service of Maria Theresa. Defeated Frederic at Hochkirchen, Kunersdorf, and Landshut. In the next reign he repelled an invasion of the Turks, and took Belgrade.

**Page 77**, l. 20. **bayonet**, a dagger or sword, which can be attached to the muzzle of a gun and so convert it into a spear or pike. It takes its name from Bayonne, a French town near the Pyrenees, where it was first manufactured in 1640.

l. 26. **perfidious**, faithless, treacherous.

its sovereign, Augustus, elector of Saxony, and King of Poland.

l. 35. a defeat far more tremendous, the crushing defeat of the Prussians at Jena by Napoleon.

**Page 78**, l. 12. **lampoon**, personal satire, scurrilous abuse.

l. 18. **Choiseul** (1719-1785), held many high positions through the favour of Madame de Pompadour, but fell into disgrace at her death, and was banished to his estates.

l. 21. **Pallissot** (1730-1814), French poet and dramatist, best known for his comedy *Le Cercle*, ridiculing the ideas of Rousseau.

l. 30. **Benedict** (1675-1758), Pope of Rome, endeavoured to reform the clergy, and made several sensible concessions on points where the power of the Church was disputed.

l. 33. **Ganganelli** (1705-1774), became Pope in 1769, under the title of Clement XIV., suppressed the order of the Jesuits, the support of whom by Clement XIII. had led to their being expelled from Portugal, Spain, France, and Naples.

l. 36. **orthodox**, having a right opinion, belonging to the recognized Church.

**Page 79**, l. 3. **ermine**, the fur of the ermine weasel, white, with the black tips of the tail inserted at regular intervals for the sake of contrast, worn by judges and officials of high rank.

l. 5. **supreme pontiff**, the Pope.

l. 10. **Godfrey of Bouillon**, one of the leaders of the First Crusade, who after several successes took Jerusalem in 1099. He was elected king, but refused the title on the grounds that it was not meet for a man to bear the title of king where Christ had suffered. He died soon after winning the battle of Ascalon, 1100 A.D.

l. 11. **Alba**, Ferdinand, Duke of Alva or Alba (1508-1582), notorious in history for his cruelty in subduing the Netherlands, of which he was Spanish governor. Hundreds of thousands of the Hollanders were killed, and over 18,000 formally executed. A cruel, stern, and bigoted man, but an able general.

l. 13. **John Sobiesky**, John III. of Poland (1629-1696), defended his country for many years against the attacks of the Russians, Tartars, and Turks. When Vienna was besieged in 1683 by an army of 100,000 Turks, he marched to its assistance with 30,000 or 40,000 troops, and after a severe fight raised the siege. A man of great ability and in advance of his age in ideas.

l. 18. **Montesquieu** (1689-1755), a French philosopher and member of the Academy. As a writer he attained popularity with his *Lettres Persanes*, his chief work was *L'Esprit des Loix*.



1. 35. **impregnable**, so strongly fortified, or so adapted by nature, as to frustrate any attempt to take it.

**Page 80**, 1. 17. **Cossacks**, a race of people inhabiting that part of Russia about the Don. They form an important part of the Russian army, invaluable as light cavalry. Their ponies seem tireless, and to them is largely due the destruction of Napoleon's army in 1812. At this period they were half-civilized savages.

1. 20. **archives**, Government papers and records, charters and documents bearing on the rights, history, etc., of a nation.

**Page 81**, 1. 4. **One of his generals**, Fink, who surrendered to Daun, with 11,000 Prussians.

1. 6. **Meissen**, on the Elbe a few miles below Dresden; the place where the famous Dresden china is now made.

1. 11. **Minden**, a town in Westphalia 40 miles west of Hanover.

1. 18. **Committee of Public Safety** (1793), the government of France during the Reign of Terror under Robespierre and his followers. Laws were practically suspended, the guillotine being the answer to any questioning of constitutional right. Read Carlyle's *French Revolution* for a vivid account of this 'agony' or struggle.

1. 26. **The coin was debased**. Coinage is said to be debased when inferior metals are used in coining, while the face value remains the same. The result is always that prices advance, for if, say, a sovereign be really only worth ten shillings, two of them would be demanded for anything worth twenty shillings.

**civil functionaries**, i.e. civil servants, officers in pay of the Government.

1. 28. **rye-bread**. Rye is a grain which will grow on poor soils, cultivated largely in Scandinavia, Denmark, Northern Germany and Russia, and Siberia. It is not so nutritious as wheat, but cheaper.

**Page 82**, 1. 8. **baited**, worried. *Bull baiting*, or worrying a bull to the verge of madness by dogs, was at one time a favourite amusement.

1. 9. **ulcerated**, eaten into. An ulcer is an open wound which is very difficult to heal, as it tends to eat into the flesh and become larger. Used figuratively in this instance.

1. 24. Referring to the custom of tiger-hunting in India, in which the locality where the tiger is known to be lying is surrounded by a circle of beaters, who, gradually closing in and making unusual noise, endeavour to drive the tiger to the spot where the sportsman is waiting with his gun.

1. 36. **Mr. Pitt**, William Pitt, Earl of Chatham (1708-1778), the great English statesman, to whom, as Macaulay points out, is due the share that England took in this contest.

**Page 83, l. 13.** Newcastle (1693-1768), Prime Minister of England, 1754-1756, and again from 1757-1762.

l. 17. **a favourite**, John, Earl of Bute, a favourite of George III., a man of no ability.

l. 18. **Tory**, a term which was first used in the reign of Charles II. to designate those who were supposed to favour the Roman Catholic. Originally it was the name given to Irish moss-troopers. The term after the Revolution of 1689 came to mean the party which was opposed to innovation and reform, and clung to old ideas and laws. It has now been replaced by 'Conservative.' The Tory party checked and hindered the plans of William III., attacked Marlborough, and by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 allowed Philip of Anjou to become Philip V. of Spain without making any provision for the protection of the provincial liberties of the Catalans or inhabitants of Catalonia in Spain.

l. 22. **compatible with decency**, consistent with the usages of international custom.

l. 29. **against the House of Bourbon**, *i.e.* at the time of the war with the American colonies, when France declared war against us.

l. 34. **first partition of Poland**. See Introduction.

**Page 84, l. 5.** servile, slavish.

l. 10. **incorporating**, uniting.

**Page 85, l. 1.** **a treaty**, Treaty of Paris, 1763.

l. 12. **Ottoman Porte**, the Sultan of Turkey.

l. 16. **Hubertsburg**, 25 miles from Leipsic, built as a hunting-seat by Frederick Augustus of Saxony (Augustus III. of Poland).

l. 22. **Alexander**, Alexander the Great (B.C. 356-323), who overthrew the Persian empire, conquered Phoenicia and Egypt, marched as far as India, subduing every country he passed through.

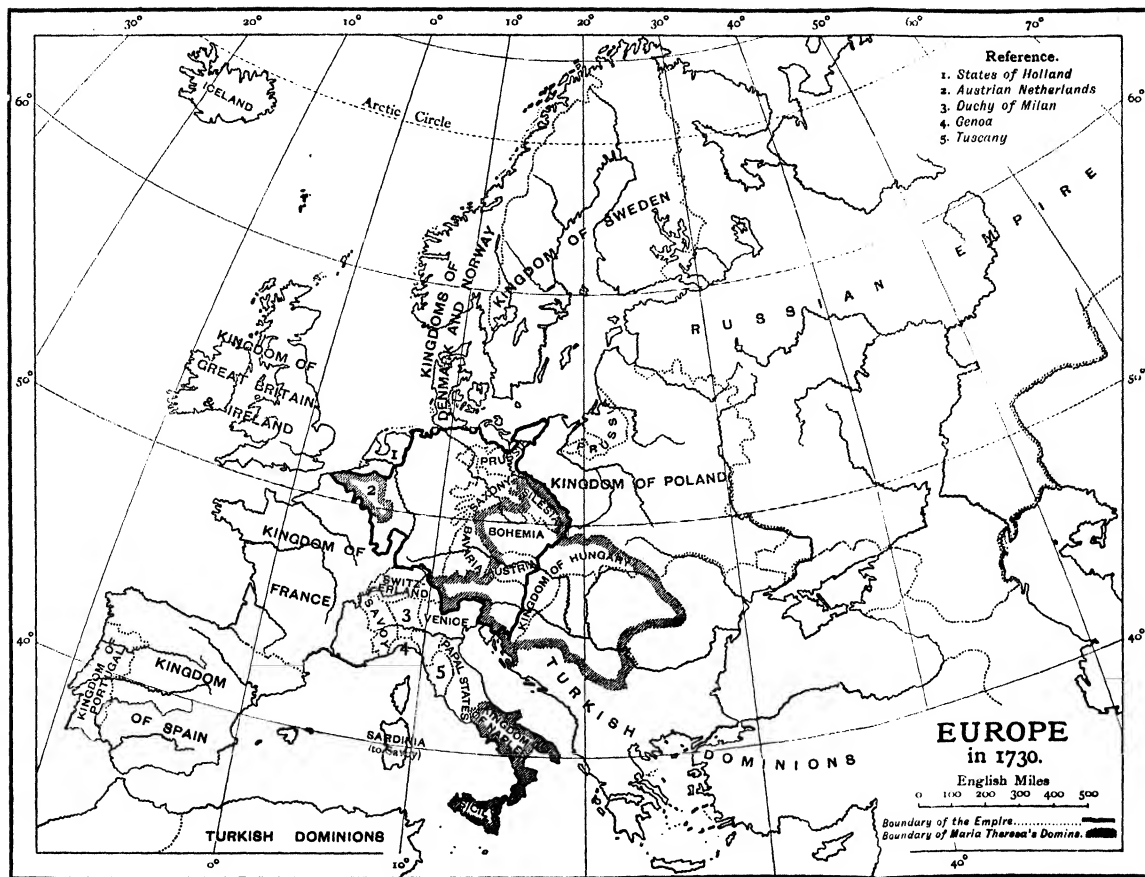
**Page 86, l. 13.** **seed-corn**, *i.e.* corn saved for the next year's sowing. If this were eaten none could be sowed and a famine must ensue, hence it was 'madness' to consume it.

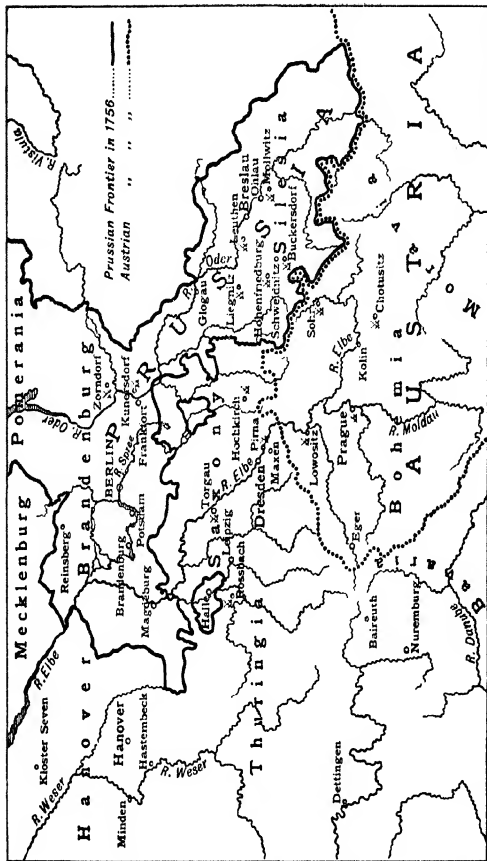
l. 14. **contagious maladies**. Insufficiency of food or the consumption of improper food renders the body weak and particularly liable to the attacks of fever, dysentery, etc.

l. 30. **anarchy**, without any rule (Gk. *an-arche*, without rule).

l. 34. **selection and rejection**. In ordinary circumstances only those men are admitted as soldiers who have attained a certain age, are a certain height and chest measurement, and of good health. The fact that Frederic had to take *anyone* is a vivid proof of the desperate situation of his people.

l. 35. **battalions**. A battalion is a division of a brigade, consisting of 10 to 12 companies of about 100 men each.





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To face Page 156.



A.D.	WAR OF THE AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION.	Pages in Essay.
1740	Death of Emperor Charles VI.	
1741	Attack by Frederic on Silesia. Victory of <i>Molwitz</i> and Invasion of Moravia. Other nations attack Austria: <b>Spain</b> (claiming the Milanese), <b>France</b> (claiming the Netherlands), <b>Bavaria</b> (claiming Bohemia).	22
1742	<b>Treaty of Breslau</b> ceding Silesia to Frederic.	24
1743	Battle of <i>Dettingen</i> .	
1744	War declared between England and France. Intervention of Frederic on behalf of the Emperor, defeated and driven out of Bohemia.	26
1745	Frederic wins the Battles of <i>Hohenfriedberg</i> and <i>Sora</i> . Defeat of British, Hanoverians and Dutch at <i>Fontenoy</i> . Duke of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa, elected Emperor.	27
	<b>Peace of Dresden</b> between Austria and Prussia, Austria ceding Silesia and Glatz.	28
1748	<b>Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.</b>	
	<b>THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.</b>	
1752-4	Negotiations between France, Spain, Austria, Saxony and Russia against Prussia.	52-57
1756	Compact between Prussia and Great Britain. Commencement of War.	59, 61
1757	Frederic takes <i>Dresden</i> , wins Battle of <i>Lowositz</i> . Battle of <i>Prague</i> . Frederic defeated at <i>Kolin</i> and driven out of Bohemia. Duke of Cumberland defeated by French at <i>Hastembeck</i> . Convention of Closter Seven.	63
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